CULTURAL ENTANGLEMENTS AND MISSIONARY SPACES: EUROPEAN EVANGELICALS IN EGYPT (1900-1956)

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Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.

PROVERBS, 27:17

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NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

I have followed the system of transliteration adopted by the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES) and diacritical markings have generally been used, also in footnotes and in the bibliography. Diacritical markings have been omitted in the notes and bibliography concerning Arabic authors who wrote in a European language. In these cases their own mode of writing the name in Latin letters is used. Thus, for example ʿAbd al-Malik Saʿd is quoted as the author of an English article as "Abdel Malik Saad" in the notes and bibliography, corresponding to the spelling used as author name in the source, while in the text of the study his name is written with diacritical markings. Exceptions also include Egyptian place-names, which follow English conventions or the spellings used by missionaries.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEDE	Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Egypt
CEOSS	Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services
CMS	Church Missionary Society
EMB	Egypt Mission Band
EGM	Egypt General Mission (previously EMB)
EIMC	Egypt Inter-Mission Council
EMO	Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten
EMC	English Mission College
MECO	Middle East Christian Outreach
NMP	Nile Mission Press
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
SPM	Sudan-Pionier Mission
YDL	Yale Divinity Library
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTION

The interview passages quoted, aim to be close as possible to the spoken language and, at the same time, as comprehensible as possible for the reader – two takes that are often not easy to harmonise. Relevant non-verbal communicational events, such as laughing and silences, are noted in brackets. Passages spoken in a particular manner are set in italics and characterised with a note in brackets. If words were not clearly understood from the record, the respective passage appears in italics and is marked with (?). Furthermore, when a speaker interrupts his/her own sentence and continues with another line of thought, it is marked with a (k). The punctuation generally follows the spoken language. If a speaker interrupts another, then it is marked with the symbol ┗.

INTRODUCTION

Protestant missionary institutions were social spaces where people from different cultural backgrounds encountered each other. While some were directly involved in the work, others had a relation to the mission without being part of it or targeted by it. Najīb ʿAzīz for instance grew up on the compound of the Elias Thompson Memorial Hospital, a hospital operated by the British Egypt General Mission in the Egyptian Delta during the first half of the twentieth century. His father worked as a nurse in the hospital and accompanied the foreign missionaries on their evangelistic visits to the villages in the region. Najīb ʿAzīz has many good memories of the time he lived on the compound and of the experiences he had with the missionaries. However, he also remembers incidents that seem bizarre and slightly amusing more than half a century later, but were at that time rather humiliating for his family and for the Egyptian employees:

نجيب عزيز: (...) في الكنيسة كان كلة بيصلي مع بعضة بس هم برضه قاعدين في البنوك الأولانية (laughing). ويمكن زكرت مرة لحضرتك ان في امر الموسيقى، احنا كنا بنحب الموسيقى. فلما ابدى إستعداده او محبتة للموسيقى فكان حاجة غريبة واحد مصري يعد علي البيانو

المحاور: ومين كان اللي بيعد علي البيانو؟

نجيب عزيز: كان أخويا "اسحق". "اسحق" كان اخد شوية مبادئ في المدرسة وكان بيعزف علي الاوكورديون، فقالوا له ممكن تتمرن اكتر علي البيانو بتاع الجماعة الانجليزبابا بشتغل معاهم. تسمع اوه، حاجة غريبة يعني. وعشان "اسحق" ياخد على البيانو ساعة واحدة في الاسبوع، كان لازم يديله تصريح من الboard الاساسي في انجلترا. (laughing)

المحاور: بس بعد كدة هو كان ممكن يلعب علي البيانو.

نجيب عزيز: اه هو اثبت على انه بيعرف الموسيقي اكتر منهم. وعلم اخويا الاصغر "يوسف" (...).[1]

Missionaries established philanthropic institutions that claimed to altruistically offer help. Despite their evangelistic aspirations, their services were widely valued by the Egyptian communities. Missionaries generally put great emphasis on friendly and harmonic relations amongst all workers as well as with the people of the local communities; in so doing, they intended to provide a testimony to Christian love. However, missionary institutions were not spaces void of power and neither was missionary work entirely unaffected by social and political circumstances. Egypt was occupied by the British Empire during the first half of the twentieth centu-

[1] "*Najīb ʿAzīz*: In the church allwere praying together, but they [the foreign missionaries] were sitting in the front row nevertheless (laughing). I remember another incident that I want to tell you and it concerns music. We loved music. When my brother expressed his readiness or love for music, this was something strange [for the foreigners], an Egyptian playing the piano. *Interviewer*: Who was playing the piano? *Najīb ʿAzīz*: It was my brother Isḥaq. Isḥaq had learned some basics at school, and he was playing the accordion, so they told him at school that he could practise on the piano of the British community his father was working for. So you heard "oh…" [from the British missionaries], it was something very strange for them. And in order for Isḥaq to practice one single hour per week, he had to get the permission from the mission's general board in Britain (laughing). *Interviewer*: But afterwards he was able to play the piano. *Najīb ʿAzīz*: Yes, and he proved that he was better in music than they were. And he taught my younger brother Yūsuf (…)." See Najīb ʿAzīz, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 05.08.2009 (transcript l. 103-110).

ry, and this imperial situation also influenced the worldview of the missionaries, especially when they came from Britain.

Najīb ʿAzīz, who became a Protestant pastor, does not resent the missionaries for those incidents in which his family experienced what might be called "colonial arrogance". His laughter, when he tells that the missionaries reserved the front rows in the church for themselves or when he illustrate the astonishment that an Egyptian boy wanted to play the piano, is not bitter. It is rather an expression of how bizarre such incidents appear more than half a century later to both Egyptians and to Europeans. However, these occasional incidents which made this "colonial arrogance" tangible, did not mar the pastor's general high esteem towards the missionaries. He emphasises in other parts of the interview, how spiritually valuable and educationally profitable the relations with the missionaries were. Najīb ʿAzīz sees the missionaries in a nuanced way. He knows in which fields he was able to learn from them, but he is also aware of their shortcomings. The British missionaries for their part also received opportunities to learn and broaden their worldview. Upon hearing Najīb's brother Isḥaq masterful playing on the piano, they received the opportunity to realise that this instrument and music was not culturally reserved for people coming from the West.

Egyptians and foreigners from Europe or North America closely encountered each other in the context of missionary work. Thereby, they were confronted with norms, values, beliefs, practices and techniques that were experienced as, and considered to be, different. The interactions and communication involved in the encounters also had a transformative potential for all involved. This thesis examines *cultural entanglements* in the contact zones of Protestant missionary societies in Egypt. I mainly focus my study on three European missionary societies; the two British missions *Egypt General Mission* and *English Mission College* and the German *Sudan-Pionier Mission*. These missions were founded between 1898 and 1924 and the institutions of the British societies were in operation until the Suez crisis in 1956. Although the political circumstances allowed the Sudan-Pionier Mission to continue their work, the developments in the 1950s also crucially affected their institutions.

Statement of the Problem and theoretical Approach

There were not many other social spaces in colonial Egypt where similarly close encounters between Europeans and Egyptians happened on such a broad social level as was the case in missionary institutions. Families from the Cairene upper-class sent their girls to missionary schools, as did the petit-bourgeoisie of the towns and farmers of the villages. Despite the

Christian underpinning of the schools, Muslims and Jews also entrusted their offspring to the education of missionaries. Their medical facilities were appreciated in rural and urban areas and all social classes were treated. In specific cases we see that an Armenian woman, born in a port city of Egypt, could work as teacher in a missionary school together with her European colleagues, as well as a converted Nubian who was entrusted to preach as an evangelist in Upper Egypt. Therefore, missionary institutions correspond to what Mary Louise Pratt defines as *contact zones*, which are "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today."[2]

This study does not intend to provide a history of certain missionary societies and the diachronic development of their institutions and work in Egypt. It does not focus on the biographies of certain individuals and examine their contributions to missionary work. Neither are the founding stories and missionary visions discussed at length. This study rather examines interactions, individual experiences and interpretations, as well as transformative processes as they happened in the culturally entangled spaces of Protestant missionary institutions.[3] Thereby, the micro-historic levels are the focus of interest. The experiences, feelings, actions, and concepts of both Egyptians and their contact with missionary institutions, as well as of foreign missionaries, are crucial for this study.[4]

However, the everyday life of the actors, their range and modes of acting, thinking and even feeling, were also shaped by institutional settings and social circumstances and must too be considered. Assuming a certain agency of the persons mentioned in this study, they were not determined by certain structures, but their needs, ideas, and possibilities also impacted upon the functionalities and settings of the institutions, and hence also indirectly influenced the wider society.[5] Therefore the transformation and developments of the institutions can also re-

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[2] Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," 34.

[3] In the last two decades "space" has become a crucial topic for many researches in social sciences, cultural studies, and humanities, forming the so called "spatial turn". Thereby "space" is primarily reflected as a social and not as a physical category. Complex and also contradicting social processes, specific cultural practices, and power relations are thereby formative in the social constitution of space. In this study rather a sociological notion of social space is used, as it was developed by Martina Löw in her book *Raumsoziologie*. See Löw, *Raumsoziologie,* 130-230. On the spatial turn and on further conceptions of space, see Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns,* 284-328.

[4] On the perspective, topics, and approaches of microhistory, everyday life history, and historical anthropology, see Tanner, *Historische Anthropologie zur Einführung*, 64-131; and Dülmen, *Historische Anthropologie,* 17-35 and 53-79. I am using microhistory synonymously with „history of everyday life", although they derive from different historic traditions. However, with the focus on the "everyday life", experiences, worldviews, actions and habits of ordinary people, they share similar preoccupations. See Brewer, "Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life," 90-1.

[5] From a organisational behaviour perspective, see Abraham and Büschges, *Einführung in die Organisationssoziologie*, 155-87; and Preisendörfer, *Organisationssoziologie,* 153-67; and from a broader sociological

sult from cultural entanglements, in particular when considering the interplay between the locals, the missionary institutions and the wider social field.

This study aims to generate a theory of cultural entanglements based on the study of interactions and interpretations located in the sphere of missionary institutions.[6] This theory claims to contribute to the description and understanding of processes of *cultural exchange* and transformation in general, but in particular to those processes in which the studied institutions were involved.[7] Three aspects lead this study of cultural entanglements:

Firstly, the products of cultural exchange and interaction processes have to be identified and described. These products can consist of the unaltered transfer of certain cultural elements, such as certain concepts, practices, discourses, techniques, from one cultural context to another. However, the interactions within cultural entangled spaces usually resulted in a transformation and adaption of cultural elements. Furthermore, it is crucial to analyse which kinds of concepts, practices, discourses and techniques were particularly affected by the cultural exchange processes. For instance, if students were taught Christian religion in missionary schools, did this impact upon their religious beliefs on dogmatic level? Did it make an impact on the level of religious practices, on the moral views, or on the modes of interpreting holy texts? And if the missionaries' religious teaching affected a student's religious belief on a dogmatic level, how was this impact manifested? Does it appear as conversion to the missionaries' interpretation of Christianity, or as reinterpretation of the own faith, or as an altered view of Christianity, identifying it on the basis of the learned dogmas? Moreover, a product of cultural exchange and processes of interaction can also be the refusal of certain cultural elements (or aspects of it), as a reaction to which, other elements that are considered as "own" are rediscovered and receive much more attention than before.

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perspective, see Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, 161-79; Bourdieu, "Habitus," 43-9; and Schwingel, *Pierre Bourdieu zur Einführung*, 59-81.

[6] I am using here the expression of "theory generation" as it was introduced by Barny Glaser and Anselm Strauss in their book "Grounded Theory". According to their notion of theory, a generated theory has not the object to provide final explanations, and neither is such a theory comparable with sociological grand theories, but it is rather a process that can be complemented and extend by further findings. Crucial for their notion of theory is that the hypotheses are well grounded in the empirical data which is systematically interpreted and achieved from well selected cases. See Glaser and Strauss, *Grounded Theory,* 12-42.

[7] The term *cultural entanglements* derives from the theoretical concept of *entangled histories* that is discussed in the succeeding paragraphs, while *cultural exchange* is used in everyday language as well as an analytical term in the research papers reflecting and theorising cultural contacts. There are further terms used in the research on cultural contacts and comparison of cultures, as for instance transculturation, acculturation, inculturation, transfer, translation, and hybridisation. See Burke, *Kultureller Austausch*, 9-14; Wirz, "Transculturation," 3-6; and Trakulhun, "Bewegliche Güter," 77-9. In my study especially the terms *cultural entanglements* and *cultural exchange processes* are used, the first rather to describe a historical situation or social spaces, and the second in order to grasp the procedural aspects of the cultural contacts and to describe the interactions.

Secondly, the functionalities of cultural exchange processes are described. In doing so, this study analyses how processes of transmission, appropriation, and transformation of cultural elements took place. On the one hand the media, institutions, and techniques involved in the process of intermediation are studied. On the other hand the relations and interactions, and the hierarchies and power relations involved, were crucial for these functionalities and hence have to be examined. Moreover, this study distinguishes two levels where functionalities of the cultural exchange processes are mainly studied: on both a personal (including the own family) and on an institutional level. As a result, the following questions drive this inquiry: how were cultural elements integrated and adapted into the already existing personal dispositions, into the modes of acting, feeling and thinking? How were institutional roles and structures altered and adapted? How were discourses, which affected the thinking and speaking of wider segments of the society, impacted upon by these cultural encounters?

Thirdly, this study intends to contribute to the understanding of cultural entanglements and provide explanations for cultural exchange processes. Therefore, the conditions enabling certain modes of actions and interactions, certain modes of speaking, thinking and feeling are analysed. In order to approach these conditions, not only must the socio-economic and political framework be considered, but the examination of dominant discourses, of self-understanding, and of power relations on the micro levels are also crucial. The explanations for the cultural exchange and interaction processes should provide answers to the question of why certain cultural elements have been integrated, adopted and transformed, while others were ignored or refused.

The theoretical approach to this study is inspired by the concept of *entangled histories* that was developed by the anthropologist Shalini Randeria.[8] Approaching the social spaces of missionary work from the perspective of entangled histories, the relations and interactions between the protagonists are crucial. I thereby assume that foreign missionaries as well as local inhabitants were impacted by the cultural entanglements. At the focus point of my examinations are the people who were involved as agents in the processes of intermediation, appropriation and transformation of cultural elements. The functionalities of these processes and the

[8] Randeria, "Geteilte Geschichte und verwobene Moderne," 87-95; and Conrad and Randeria, "Einleitung," 17-27. Further works approaching cultural contacts in a similar manner, although with different emphasis and terminology, see Werner and Zimmermann, "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung," 607-36; Ulf, "Rethinking Cultural Contacts," 81-132; Burke, *Kultureller Austausch*, 9-40; and Wirz, "Transculturation," 3-10. A critical overview on the different positions in this field, see Kocka, "Comparison and Beyond," 39-44; and Trakulhun, "Bewegliche Güter," 72-88.

products resulting from these interactions find themselves at the core of my interest.[9] Following the concept of *entangled histories*, individuals are not considered as being determined by a certain cultural background and neither do they personify a specific culture. Individuals and social groups possess rather the possibility to use a certain cultural repertoire that is flexible and can be extended. Hence the divergence between values prevalent in certain cultural contexts and individual subjectivities can be explained.[10]

Despite the agency of the individuals within culturally entangled spaces, their range of possibility to act, feel, speak and think are impacted upon by a network of powers and discourses. These powers and discourses for instance promoted specific modes of actions and enabled the frequent appearance of certain statements, while others statements and actions were restricted or even became unthinkable.[11] The question of power relations is crucial for the examination of cultural entanglements, particularly when considering the colonial situation in Egypt and in many parts of the world. The colonial rule in Egypt did not only impact the economic, social and political opportunities of individuals (according to their social and ethnic belonging), but also the perception and the speaking on the "own" and the "foreign" or on the "modern" and the "traditional".[12] However power is not considered as a substance that is possessed by a certain group (e.g. the coloniser) and that is unilaterally exercised over another group (e.g. the colonised) that was deprived of power. This study rather uses the notion of a polycentric power that is only manifest in a network of relationships. Freedom, in the sense of choosing from a range of alternatives, is constitutive for this notion of power and hence always implies the possibility of resistance. Power can crystallise in certain domination structures. However, if one of the subjects in the relationship is deprived of real alternatives and of any agency, then this cannot be considered as a power relation but rather as a relation of force.[13]

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[9] A similar perspective on missionary work, emphasising the interactions between missionaries and local inhabitants can also be found in the studies of Jean and John Commaroff on mission in South Africa. Thereby they call this two-sided historical process a "long conversation" that impacted all participants involved. See Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, vol. 1,* 11-22. Their emphasis on "hegemony" however results in a rather dichotomous view on missionary work, where a foreign and powerful group aimed to penetrate and change the culture of resisting indigenous groups. This view has been criticised by other historians working on missionary history, not because they deny that power relations were involved, but rather because the local as well as the colonial societies had an internal diversity. See Porter, ",Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914," 370-5; and Nielssen, Okkenhaug, and Skeie, "Introduction," 4-6.

[10] Randeria, "Geteilte Geschichte und verwobene Moderne," 91-5.

[11] I am using here Foucault's notions of discourse and power, as developed in his works *The Order of Discourse* and *Archaeology of Knowledge* (discourse) as well as in *Discipline and Punish* and further writings on power from the mid and late 1970s.

[12] Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 1-33; Said, *Orientalism,* 1-110; Burke, *Kultureller Austausch*, 24-8; and Hall, "The West and the Rest,"205-25.

[13] Foucault, "Das Subjekt und die Macht," 251-61; Foucault, "Die Macht und die Norm," 99-102; and Foucault, *Überwachen und Strafen,* 39-43.

The concept of entangled histories assumes a non-essentialist and procedural notion of culture hence cultures are not defined by a certain territory, values, a way of life or a specific system of meaning. Although cultures are referred to as entities, they are rather open systems without clear borders, and are in constant change and exchange with other systems.[14] Their appearance as entities is discursively produced, especially by their demarcation from what is considered foreign. The reference to a certain culture therefore, has no analytical value but rather provides certain dominant representations of this culture.[15] The procedural notion of culture aims to overcome dichotomies such as "orient" and "occident", or "traditional" and "modern".[16]

Also in the case of the European missionaries working among Egyptians, cultural attributions are problematic. Firstly, the missionaries did not only come from different European countries, each of them claiming to have a distinct national culture, but also from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. They mostly had a middle-class background and in their self-understanding they were in the first place born-again Christians who were distinct form the so-called "Christians in name only" at home and in Egypt. Secondly, speaking of "Egyptians" evokes the wrong impression of a homogenous culture and society. Even if only the contacts of the missionaries in Egypt are considered, we find relations to Nubians, who spoke their own language, to the semi-nomadic Bisharin, or to people from the Middle East and Europe born and raised in Egypt. Moreover, the realms of experience of people living in Egypt could differ greatly. The everyday life and problems of a farmer in Upper Egypt, for instance, differed greatly from those of an engineer working for an international company in Cairo.

Reflections on Methods

Following the perspective of entangled histories, the interactions and processes within the sphere of missionary institutions have to be approached by considering the perspectives of (preferably) all groups involved. Therefore the experiences and views of foreign missionaries and Egyptian workers, of students in missionary schools, patients in hospitals, and also the opinions of those only indirectly affected by the missionary work, such as parents of mission-

[14] Mintzel, *Multikulturelle Gesellschaften in Europa und Nordamerika*, 71-80; Porter, ",Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914," 372-7; Conrad and Randeria, "Einleitung," 27-9; Werner and Zimmermann, "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung," 624-7; and Ulf, "Rethinking Cultural Contacts," 81-8.
[15] Wirz, "Transculturation," 3-6; Abu-Lughod, "Writing against Culture," 49-50; Hall, "Die Frage der kulturellen Identität," 199-208;
[16] Randeria, "Geteilte Geschichte und verwobene Moderne," 88-93; and Juneja, "Debatte zum ‚Postkolonialismus'," 88-92.

ary students or local authorities, are of interest. This requirement however poses various practical and methodical problems, particularly with regard to the sources.

Firstly, there is a problem with the availability of sources. While many sources can be found in the missionary archives, they were mostly written by the missionaries or by the administration of the home-base. Furthermore, when missionaries from the field wrote, they often did so for a certain readership and proceeded accordingly. When considering the perspectives of the Egyptians, hardly any written sources can be found. Secondly, in order to gain access to the perspectives of those Egyptians who were affected or involved by missionary work in any form, oral history interviews were conducted. Therefore, I searched for persons, who were in close contact to, and had direct experiences with, the missionary institutions this study focuses on. Finding persons with such a relation to the missionary institutions was a challenging task, due to the temporal distance of more than fifty years. Furthermore, most of these institutions do not exist anymore due to the changing of the basic conditions for missionary work after 1956. Thirdly, Christian missionary work has become rather a taboo-topic in Egypt, as in most regions of the Middle East. It is generally considered to be offensive to many Muslims, particularly the evangelistic aspect of the missionary work. Therefore, former missionary institutions that are still involved in a form of welfare or ecclesiastical work in Egypt are often reluctant to give access to their archives and even more cautious regarding the provision of contacts in Egypt.

Oral history has proven to be fruitful for many areas of historical research, be it economic or medical history. It is a method that generates a kind of source that can provide valuable insights into the everyday life and practices.[17] Oral history is particularly suitable for microhistoric studies, since it examines the individual experiences and personal histories.[18] However, it is also a method that confronts the historian with epistemological problems. Certain problems concerning the oral history interviews conducted for this study already have been addressed: How does an Egyptian, who had close contact with the Christian mission, express his experiences considering that mission has largely become a taboo? How can a person remember events and relations correctly after more than half a century? Furthermore, the term "experience", implying an expression of authentic historical evidence, is debated in historical research and is often contrasted with discourse.[19]

[17] On the areas of achievements and on the value of oral history in the historical research, see Thompson, *The Voice of the Past,* 82-117.
[18] Broda, "Erfahrung, Erinnerungsinterview und Gender," 159.
[19] Bos, Vincenz, and Wirz, "Erfahrung: Alles nur Diskurs?," 10-1.

This study takes into account that past events, feelings, and relations were experienced within the framework of previous knowledge, and of certain collective expectations and attitudes. Furthermore, these past experiences are remembered and recounted in certain patterns and using terms as well as categories that are shaped by dominant discourses of the present time.[20] Moreover, as autobiographical memory studies have shown, remembering is a creative and productive process that reconstructs and alters cognitive structures. Events and relations in the past are reconstructed on the basis of experiences that were of relevance for the individual. Forgotten details are complemented with memories of similar episodes. Furthermore, experiences are revaluated and reinterpreted over the course of life, whereby current discourses and later experiences play a crucial role.[21] Nevertheless, oral history interviews remain a particularly important and fruitful source when examining cultural entanglements. The narratives of the interviewees not only provide individual interpretations, but also valuable insight into social rules, structures and collective views.[22] When one considers that the memories expressed in interviews are a product of past experiences that are reinterpreted and revaluated in the course of the life and expressed within the framework of present discourses, then these recollected experiences themselves can be regarded as products of cultural entanglements.

Considering the disparate state of the body of source material, the procedures of the Grounded Theory are an appropriate means to generate a contribution to a theory of cultural exchange. This method of qualitative social research is suitable for the analysis of oral as well as written or visual sources, for everything is considered to be potential data and can be coded according to the Grounded Theory.[23] Furthermore, this method provides a strategy for handling the disparate availability of the different types of sources (a lot of missionary writings for the European public, however only little written Arabic sources of Egyptians involved in the missionary work). It provides the possibility to generate hypothesis not on the basis on the quantity of the sources, but rather by a deliberate collection of data that is closely analysed.[24] This study

[20] Canning, "Problematische Dichotomien," 38-43.
[21] Broda, "Erfahrung, Erinnerungsinterview und Gender," 161-5.
[22] Canning, "Problematische Dichotomien," 46-55; Bos, Vincenz, and Wirz, "Erfahrung: Alles nur Diskurs?," 14-7; and Broda, "Erfahrung, Erinnerungsinterview and Gender" 167-8.
[23] Corbin and Strauss, "Grounded Theory Research," 5-6; and Strauss, *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung,* 25-31. It is unusual for historical studies to speak of „data", when referring to the sources and this study generally uses the term "sources". Following the concepts of the Grounded Theory, sources become data when they are actually analysed.
[24] This procedure of deliberate data collection is called "theoretical sampling" in the terminology of Grounded Theory. Thereby, data are collected on the ground of specific categories deriving from the analysis of previous data. See Strauss, *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung,* 70-1; and Glaser and Strauss, *Grounded Theory,* 53-7. Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss write on the purpose of theoretical sampling: "To say that one samples theoretically means that sampling, rather than being predetermined before beginning the research, evolves during the process. It is based on concepts that emerged from analysis and that appear to have relevance to the evolving theory. (…) The aim of theoretical sampling is to maximize opportunities to compare events, incidents, or hap-

is inspired by the concepts and procedures of the Grounded Theory and in some chapters the terminology of this method of qualitative social research is explicitly used. However, as this is a historical study and since, with certain issues, other methods were more fruitful, I do not rigidly follow the Grounded Theory.

Grounded Theory is conceptualised as a method that provides techniques and procedures to generate theories. It proposes a cyclic research procedure, where data collection and analysis are seen as interrelated processes.[25] After the first data are collected the coding process of the material should already begin, whereby reflections, findings, hypothesis and new questions are formulated in memos. These memos are a crucial means for the development of the theory. Based on the reflections and findings from the coding process, new questions are formulated that become topics for further interviews and data collections. The resulting data collection is again followed by the coding of the new material and by the comparison to the previously gained categories and so forth.[26] In the process of coding the date, categories and subcategories are gained through the analysis, abstraction, and constant comparison of the codes. These categories, and their relation to one another, form the cornerstones for the development of a theory.[27] In the course of the research process, certain categories can be identified to represent central phenomena of the study. Such categories are called core-categories and not only do they often appear in stable patterns in the data, but they also stand in relationship with various other categories.[28]

Discourse analysis is used as a further approach for this study, especially in order to examine certain concepts, modes of speaking, norms, and values. While Grounded Theory is a method of social science which follows certain procedures, discourse analysis -inspired by Michel Foucault's works *The Order of Discourse* and *Archaeology of Knowledge*- is rather a perspective on the source material. Statements form the units of discourse in the analysis of discur-

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penings to determine how a category varies in terms of its properties and dimensions." See Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research,* 202.

[25]Glaser and Strauss, *Grounded Theory,* 78-82; Corbin and Strauss, "Grounded Theory Research," 6-7; Krotz, *Neue Theorien entwickeln,* 162-5; Froschauer and Lueger, *Das qualitative Interview,* 21-32.

[26] Corbin and Strauss, "Grounded Theory Research," 6-8; and Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr, *Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 195-204.

[27] The coding procedure aims to provide the researcher with analytic tools for handling masses of raw data and help to systematise the process of analysis. Certain phenomena discovered through the interpretation of data are ladelled with a code and this code provides the basis for their comparison with similar phenomena. Codes become significant, if they are repeatedly appearing, or if they are significantly absent. See Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research,* 13; and Corbin and Strauss, "Grounded Theory Research," 7-8.

[28] The procedure that focuses in particular on the elaboration and exploration of core-categories is called "selective coding" and it is rather used in the later phases of the research process. See Strauss, *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung,* 65-8. Besides "selective coding", the Grounded Theory distinguishs two further coding procedures: "open coding" and "axial coding". See Corbin and Strauss, "Grounded Theory Research," 12-5; Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research,* 101-42; Strauss, *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung,* 94-106; and Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr, *Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 204-11.

sive formations and they regularly appear in a similar system of variation.[29] Hence series of equable statements are examined and the analysis inquires after the "historic a priori", i.e. the conditions for the possibility for certain statements to appear. Furthermore, the principles for the persistence, transformation, and disappearance of statements are analysed.[30] For instance, in the context of the Christian mission in Egypt the question might be asked, why the statement "we Christian missionaries are part of a colonising project" does not appear in any missionary writings. Although discourses usually appear *in* language, they cannot simply be reduced *to* language. On the one hand, discourses are practices ("discursive practices") that systematically form objects addressed by language, hence forming the positivity of the discourse. On the other hand, discursive practices are usually entangled with non-discursive practices (e.g. in the medical work, medical discourses are entangled with therapeutic treatments).[31]

Sources and State of Research

This study is based on archival sources, on writings published for the public such as booklets and magazine articles, as well as on oral history interviews. The archival and published sources of the German *Sudan-Pionier Mission* can mainly be found in the archives of the *Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten (EMO)* in Wiesbaden, the successor organisation of the missionary society. These archives have provided me with the booklets as well as with the magazine that were published by the Sudan-Pionier Mission. Furthermore, correspondence of the home base and reports from the missionary field were found, as well as personal files from missionaries and minutes of meetings as well as a personal diary of a female missionary. The successor organisation of the *Egypt General Mission* is called *Middle East Christian Outreach (MECO)* and is located in Tunbridge Wells. The archives of this organisation however hold only few archival sources of the Egypt General Mission, for the documents from the stations in Egypt were largely lost when the missionaries were forced to leave in 1956. Minute books from meetings at the home base as well as in the Egyptian headquarter from the 1930s until the 1950s have been preserved. Furthermore, booklets and magazines written for the

[29] Foucault, *Archäologie des Wissens,* 58

[30] Foucault, *Archäologie des Wissens,* 183-90; and Sarasin, *Michel Foucault zur Einführung,* 110-2. Bluntly spoken, discourse analysis inquires the questions, why certain things can be said and thought at a certain periods of the history and other statements were not said nor understood. Furthermore, the discourse analytic approach asks the question, why we only say so little (and thereby repeating the same range statements over and over), considering the huge possibility language provides to express statements. Foucault deals with these questions by examining the various procedures in the society that sets boundaries to the discourse. See Foucault, *Die Ordnung des Diskurses,* 9-35.

[31] Foucault, *Archäologie des Wissens,* 71-4; Sarasin, *Michel Foucault zur Einführung,* 5; and Martschukat, "Diskurse und Gewalt," 74-6.

missionary supporters as well as the printed conference papers of the *Egypt Inter-Mission Council* were found in the archives.[32] The *Day Mission Library* of *Yale Divinity School* also holds Egypt Inter-Mission Council and Egypt General Mission sources.

Arabic booklets and magazines published by Protestant missionary societies (in particular by the missionary publisher *Nile Mission Press*) and used in the missionary work were found in the private library of the former Pastor of the German congregation in Aswan as well as in the archives and library of the *Evangelical Theological Seminary in Cairo*. Egyptian newspapers (however not all of them) involved in the anti-missionary agitations in the early 1930s can be found in the periodicals section of *Dār al-Kutub*, the Egyptian national library in Cairo. The *Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Egypt* in Cairo holds the records of the *English Mission College* and hence provides archival sources such as letters, minutes of meetings, annual financial reports, outlines of school celebrations, but also booklets for the friends of the College. Further archival sources of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council can also be found here, providing insights into the modes of operation and the decision processes of the Council.

In addition to the written sources, oral history interviews with former English Mission College and Egypt General Mission school students (overall six alumni), with former Egyptian employees of the missionary societies (two nurses and an evangelical pastor), as well as with European missionaries (a Swiss nurse, a British missionary couple and a British missionary teacher) were conducted.[33] These interviews were conducted according to methods of qualitative social research. Therefore, these qualitative interviews did not follow a rigid set of questions, but partially adopted the form of conversations. Generally open questions were asked and the interviewees were provided with the opportunity to elaborate on their memories.[34] In addition to these interviews that were recorded and transcribed, several conversations, particularly with former missionary students of the English Mission College, provided additional insights. Most of the interviewees and conversation partners were Christians, but some of the English Mission College alumni were Muslims.

Missionary history in the Middle East has long been a topic mainly studied by missiologists and the focus usually has been on developments of missionary visions and institutions as well

[32] The Egypt Inter-Mission Council was a body coordinating comity and cooperation between the various Protestant missionary societies in Egypt. The Egypt General Mission, the Sudan-Pionier Mission and the English Mission College were member of the Council. More on the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, see Chapter 1.3.
[33] Since Christian mission in the Middle East is rather a sensitive topic within the Egyptian society, I decided to use pseudonyms for the names of all the interviewees in this study.
[34] On the procedures to prepare and properly conduct qualitative and oral history interviews, see Froschauer and Lueger, *Das qualitative Interview,* 15-21 and 51-79; and Thompson, *The Voice of the Past,* 222-45.

as on biographies of remarkable missionaries.[35] During the 1990s however, missionary actitivities were increasingly studied with regard to the social, cultural, interreligious, and gendered aspects of the missionary endeavours and their encounters with the local societies.[36] Education in general and particularly for girls, welfare endeavours such as work with orphans, medical mission, Muslim-Christian respectively Jewish-Christian relations, and also the imperial dimension associated with missionary work have been examined. Thereby, Catholic as well as Protestant missionary endeavours in various regions of the Middle East provide the basis for these researches.[37] These studies generally aim to overcome a Eurocentric perspective of missionary work and hence explore the encounters, the impact on Middle Eastern communities, and the reactions of the local populations. However, the task of providing the perspectives of the local population and in particular of those who had direct relationships with the missionaries, proves to be a vexing one for there is often a "lack of indigenous voices".[38]

The missionary work in Egypt has received growing scholarly attention during the last decade, whereby in particular Protestant missionary societies have been studied. Earlier researches are rather scarce, but the PhD thesis of Christine Sproul from 1982 is noteworthy. In her study on the *American College for Girls* in Cairo, an institution founded by the *American Presbyterian Mission*, she focuses on the alumni of this school who played a pioneering role

[35] However, there was also already some research in the 1960s examining not only missionary sources but also sources of political nature thereby providing alternative perspectives on the significance of missionary work for the Middle East. See Murre-van den Berg, "The Study of Western Missions in the Middle East (1820-1920)," 38-9.

[36] For overview of the most important studies on Catholic and Protestant missionary work in the Middle East that appeared in the last few decades, see Murre-van den Berg, "The Study of Western Missions in the Middle East (1820-1920)," 35-53; and a historiographical article analysing the approaches and contributions of the new scholarship interested with Christianity in the modern Arab world, see Robson, "Recent Perspectives on Christianity in the Modern Arab World," 312-25.

[37] Edited volumes and journal issues focusing on the history and impact of Christian mission in the Middle East and providing an insight into the current scholarly debate, see Tejirian and Simon, *Altruism and Imperialism*; *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13:4 (2002) (special issue titled "Missionary Transformations: Gender, Culture, and Identity in the Middle East," ed. Eleanor Abdella Doumato); Timbur, *Europäer in der Levante*; Okkenhaug and Flaskerud, *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East*; Tamcke and Marten, *Christian Witness between Continuity and new Beginnings*; Okkenhaug and Naguib, *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*; Tamcke and Manukyan, *Protestanten im Orient; Social Sciences and Missions*, no. 23 (2010) (special issue titled "Gender and Mission in the Middle East," ed. Inger Marie Okkenhaug); Friedrich, Kaminsky, and Löffler, *The Social Dimension of Christian Missions in the Middle East*; and Sharkey and Doğan, *American Missionaries in the Middle East.*

[38] "The most vexing handicap (…) is lack of indigenous voices. Rare is the diary or collection of letters from former students or members of missionary churches, for example, and when such personal commentaries are found, they are usually transcribed by missionaries and abridged for missionary publications. The absence of these sources means that we are unable to capture personal responses on the part of local people to encounters with missionaries and their institutions, or to incorporate their agency into our analyses." See Doumato, "Missionary Transformations," 373-4. However, there are studies that found "indigenous voices" as for instance Marilyn Booth in the women's magazine *Fatāt al-Sharq,* edited by a former missionary student from Syria. See Booth, "‚She Herself was the Ultimate Rule'".

in the professional world or in social welfare. For this purpose, she also interviewed former students.[39] Unlike Protestant mission, an intensive examination of Catholic missionary activities remains a desideratum. Catholic schools also held a missionary agenda, and played a crucial role in Egypt's educational and social history, as research by Frédéric Abécassis on French schools (many of them administered by Catholic orders) has shown.[40]

The earliest Protestant missionary endeavours in Egypt, the work of the Moravians in the second half of the eighteenth century, have only very recently received scholarly attention.[41] The Anglican *Church Missionary Society (CMS)* established its first institutions in the early nineteenth century and various aspects of the history of this mission have been studied. Paul Sedra has examined the educational efforts of, and the encounters between, Anglican missionaries and Copts in the nineteenth century.[42] With the British occupation in 1882, a new chapter of the Anglican mission started. Matthew Rhodes studies in his PhD thesis the development of the Anglican Church in Egypt and its relationship with Imperialism, while Catriona Laing's recent study focuses on the Anglican missionary Constance Padwick, her vision to use the printing press for evangelism, and her study of Sufi prayer manuals (that altered her attitude towards Islam).[43] Renate Lunde and Beth Baron analyse missionary welfare endeavours: Lunde examines an infant welfare centre established by the Church Missionary Society, while Baron focuses rather on the care for orphans, especially in the orphanage established by Lilian Trasher.[44]

The work of the *American Presbyterian Mission* is extensively studied by Heather J. Sharkey. Her book on American Evangelicals in Egypt a standard work for all future scholarship on missionary work in the Middle East and in particular in Egypt. Sharkey examines the Ameri-

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[39] Sproul, *The American College for Girls.* A further, even early study on the Protestant mission Egypt, is the missiological study by Lyle L. Vander Werff. He takes a comparative approach, comparing Anglican with Presbyterian missionary strategies, as well as missionary endeavours in Egypt and in India. See Vander Werff, *Christian Mission to Muslims.*

[40] Crucial studies on the Catholic mission in Egypt are, for instance, Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales (1920-1960)*; Abécassis, "L'Enseignement étranger en Égypte (1930-1960)"; and Abécassis, "Conversion religieuse et identités nationales en Égypte dans la première moitié du XXe siècle".

[41] Manukyan, *Konstantinopel und Kairo*; and Tamcke, Manukyan, and Mauder, *Die arabischen Briefe aus der Zeit der Herrnhuter Präsenz in Ägypten 1770-1783.*

[42] See in particular his PhD thesis (Sedra, *Evangelicals and Educational Reform in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*) that was published 2011 as book (Sedra, *From Mission to Modernity*). See furthermore also Sedra, "Ecclesiastical Warfare"; Sedra, "Modernity's Mission"; and Sedra, "John Lieder and his Mission in Egypt". The studies of Riyāḍ Sūryāl, Wolfram Reiss and Vivian Ibrahim focus on the modern history of the Copts, but they also consider encounters between Copts and missionaries. See Sūryāl, *Al-Mujtamaʿ al-Qibṭī fī Miṣr fī (al-qarn 19);* Reiss, *Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche; and* Ibrahim, *The Copts of Egypt.*

[43] Rhodes, *The Anglican Church in Egypt 1936-1956 and its Relationship with British Imperialism*; and Laing, *Print, Prayer, and Presence*.

[44] Lunde, "Building Bonny Babies". Lilian Trasher was not Anglican and her orphanage in Assiut was sponsored by the Assemblies of God Church of North America. See Baron, "Nile Mother"; and on the various welfare endeavours for orphans in modern Egypt (including missionaries), see Baron, "Orphans and Abandoned Children in Modern Egypt".

can missionary endeavour by considering the transformation of missionary enterprise and of Egyptian society, thereby also studying mutual impacts.[45] Studies on Pentecostal missionary work are still rare, but Dan Sheffield's paper on the Canadian missionary Herbert E. Randall provides an insight into the activities of the *Holiness Movement Church* in Egypt.[46] Focusing on the history of evangelical and evangelistic radio in the Middle East, Jos M. Stranglehold provides a transnational approach to the use of specific media for missionary ends.[47] Umar Ryad's studies do not primarily focus on missionaries and their endeavours, but rather on the reception of missionary work by Muslim intellectuals, dealing in particular with the critical works of Rashīd Riḍā, and with his reflections on Christianity in general.[48]

The missionary societies that provide most of the sources for this study have not received wide scholarly attention. The English Mission College in Cairo is barely mentioned in any of the studies on missionary work in the Middle East. The Egypt General Mission has not been studied as a missionary society, only some of its individual missionaries have received scholarly attention.[49] Todd M. Thompson focuses on J.N.D. Anderson, an important missionary of the Egypt General Mission who worked among students in Alexandria in the 1930s and 1940s, and whose later legal thoughts were influenced by his encounters in Egypt.[50] The Sudan-Pionier Mission can be considered as the most studied of all three societies, although there are still many questions left. Christof Sauer's missiological study extensively examines the biographies, visions and relations of the founders of the Sudan-Pionier Mission. Furthermore, he describes the establishment of the first institutions and the developments and struggles during the first four years of missionary work.[51] Moreover, Dagmar Bachhuber wrote a

[45] Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*; Sharkey, "Arabic Antimissionary Treatises"; Sharkey, "Empire and Muslim Conversion"; Sharkey, "Missionary Legacies"; Sharkey, "Muslim Apostasy, Christian Conversion, and Religious Freedom in Egypt"; and Sharkey, "American Presbyterians, Freedmen's Missions, and the Nile Valley". Focusing not on the American Mission, but on the British and Foreign Bible Society in Port Said, see Sharkey, "The British and Foreign Bible Society in Port Said and the Suez Canal".
[46] Sheffield, "Herbert E. Randall".
[47] Strengholt, *Gospel in the Air*.
[48] Ryad, *Islamic Reformism and Christianity*; Ryad, "Muslim Response to Missionary Activities in Egypt"; and Ryad, "Islamic Reformism and Great Britain".
[49] A study, focusing on female Estonian missionaries working in Africa, studied the life an Egypt General Missionary with Estonian origins. See Hiiemaa, *Südame kutsel.*
[50] Thompson, *Anderson, Nationalism, and the 'Modernisation' of Islamic Law, 1932–1984*; and Thompson, "Anderson, Sir (James) Norman Dalrymple (1908–1994)".
[51] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt.* Christof Sauer wrote this book on the basis of his PhD thesis. Sauer also explores former research mentioning or studying aspects of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, see Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 26-33. Besides Sauer only Klaus Fiedler's missiological study on faith missions is the only published work examining archival and printed sources from the Sudan-Pionier Mission. See Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen.*

PhD thesis in medical history that focuses on the biography of the female missionary doctor Elisabeth Herzfeld.[52]

Structure of the Thesis

Regarding the analysis of the sources, three main topics have proven to be central for this study, namely religion, education and health. The analysis of entanglements within the missionary educational and health work form those two chapters that constitute the body of this work. Religion plays in both chapters a crucial role, since interreligious relations, religious practices, motivations and concepts as well as evangelistic endeavours were closely entangled with education as well as with medical work. The body of this thesis is preceded by a chapter that explores the historic framework of the cultural entanglement.

The two main chapters have a similar structure. In a first part the self-understanding of the missionaries in the respective field of work is explored. This self-understanding is part of the framework of the missionary work since it crucially impacts upon the objects, strategies and methods within the respective field. Thereby, this self-understanding was usually largely shared by many evangelical missionaries of different societies, and particularly by those working in Egypt. The conference paper of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council therefore provides an important source as, during these meetings, missionaries and Egyptian missionary workers of important positions reflected on their experiences, their successes and failures, and developed new ideas and strategies.

In a second and major part, specific topics and exemplary institutions established by the three missionary societies are examined.[53] Thereby, I use different approaches to explore specific topics and institutions. The procedures of the Grounded Theory are central when I examine selected missionary institutions in case studies. This institutional approach is mainly concerned with microhistory, hence assists in the examination of the experiences, relations, and interactions of individuals, but also of power relations, structures, developments and modes of operations. I assume that not only the institution shaped the thinking, feeling and the modes of action of the individuals, but also that the individuals shaped the institution's structures and its modes of operation. Furthermore, the institution has to be contextualised within the local social environment and relations with its social field have to be considered. The topical approach focuses on specific issues that are central within the missionary encounters, but cannot

[52] Bachhuber, *Dr. med. Elisabeth Herzfeld (1890-1966).*
[53] In this study I usually use „institutions" in the sense of „organisations", as defined in organisational behaviour. See Vester, *Kompendium der Soziologie I,* 105-17.

be assigned to the range of competences of a specific institution (for instance cleanliness and hygiene were important topics in various fields of missionary activities). This topic is explored using a discourse analytical perspective, examining how specific concepts, norms, and practices were established, interrelated and shaped by discursive formations.

In the third part I examine the traces which these encounters and interactions left behind. Such traces indicate that the past continues to have an effect and hence remains present in a certain way. Therefore, the impacts of cultural exchange processes are examined. The persistence and the meaning of the cultural entanglements are discussed, with particular regard to the personal and institutional level, and if there are evidences, also to the social level.

Thus this thesis has the following structure: In a first chapter, the historical context of the missionary endeavours and encounters is sketched. Thereby, the social, political and economic environment in Egypt is studied with specific regard to developments in health and education. Furthermore, the missionary societies that are central to this study are presented and insights into their religious background are provided. Finally, the relationships between Christian mission, Egyptian government and British Empire are studied on the basis of the anti-missionary agitations in the late 1920s and early 1930s. These agitations and the reactions of the missionaries provide insights into the political and religious framework in Egypt that was relevant for the missionary work. In the second chapter, encounters within the context of educational mission are studied. Here the English Mission College and the Bethel School of the Egypt General Mission provide case studies for the examination of cultural entanglements in the framework of education. In the third chapter, the medical mission is the focus of the study. The interrelated topics of cleanliness, hygiene and superstition are examined with a topical approach, while in a further passage the hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission is studied in a microhistoric analysis.

1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT: EGYPT AND THE CHRISTIAN MISSION

1.1 Framework of Missionary Activities in Egypt

The first half of the twentieth century was a turbulent time in Egyptian history, shaped by major social and political developments. A comparison of the educational landscape in the beginning of the century with the state of schooling after the revolution of the Free Officers in 1952 might provide an insight into the social trends.

The educational situation at the beginning of the twentieth century was characterised by a variety of different kinds of schools, curriculums and ways of teaching. The Egyptian government ran public schools that followed a curriculum shaped by European models, and moreover it impacted the teaching of an older school type -the *kuttāb*- with inspections and governmental aid grants. This type of primary school was the most widespread until the mid-nineteenth century and placed emphasis upon memorisation of religious texts.[54] These schools were financed by parents as well as by contributions from the religious community (in the case of an Islamic kuttāb through a waqf, a pious foundation).

Besides these schools run by Egyptians, there were also a large number of schools belonging to foreign communities (such as Armenian, Greek and Italian schools) that were founded by the respective national group in order to teach their children.[55] Other foreign schools did not have a national focus but were primarily religiously motivated. Catholic missionary schools as well as educational institutions founded by American and British Protestant missionaries taught Egyptians and foreigners, as well as Christians, Jews and Muslims. This variety of schools stands in sharp contrast to the rate of illiteracy: In 1907, illiteracy among men was 87% and 98.6% among women: less then every tenth person aged over 10 was able to read and write.[56]

Half a century later, not only the illiteracy figures (56.6% for males and 83.8% for females in 1960) had changed, but so too had other crucial aspects of the educational system.[57] The Egyptian government made efforts to provide public schools for free, and their enrolment numbers increased dramatically, particularly after the revolution in 1952. At the same time, the variety of schools, curriculums and the number of foreign teachers was decreasing.[58] The

[54] Landau, "Kuttāb," 572-5; and Langohr, "Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements," 165-6.
[55] Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt,* 412-24.
[56] Faksh, "The consequences of the Introduction and Spread of modern Education," 48.
[57] Faksh, "The consequences of the Introduction and Spread of modern Education," 48.
[58] Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales (1920-1960),* 806; and Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work,* 77-9.

Egyptian ministry of education steadily expanded its power, conducting regular inspections of private schools and prescribing requirements concerning teachers and curriculum. As a result Greek, Armenian and Italian national schools -as well as Jewish schools- practically disappeared by the end of the 1950s.

This brief comparison between the educational situation in Egypt in the early and in the mid-twentieth century shows that the Protestant missionary work took place within the economic, legal, religious, political and social framework of a country that was undergoing crucial developments. Protestant religious, educational and medical institutions were impacted by these developments and they had to adjust to the requirements of the Egyptian society and the local communities. Furthermore, as their missionaries were not the only ones involved in welfare and religious work, they faced competition or were even able to establish cooperation. In all parts of the country, certain forms of medical, religious and educational institutions already existed. Some of them resembled the institutions the missionaries were establishing, while others operated according to different concepts, displaying other structures and functionalities.

This chapter discusses the general framework that was shaping the historical conditions of missionary work. I focus on developments that were relevant for activities in the fields of health and education. In a first step, I will explore developments during the nineteenth century, starting with the reforms by Muḥammad ʿAlī, which were crucial for the Egyptian health and education system. In a second step, the impact of the British occupation will be studied; how the colonial policy not only shaped the economic situation, but also the educational, sanitary and medical conditions. Finally, developments during the constitutional era and after the revolution are discussed. Political and legal developments as well as governmental endeavours in the fields of education and health deeply affected the possibilities of foreign private institutions, and particularly those of missionary establishments.

Health and Education in the Nineteenth Century

The variety of different schools and types of education emerged during the nineteenth century and remained a phenomenon up until the first years of the twentieth century. The oldest type of school was the kuttāb which provided basic education imbued with a religious spirit. Memorising the Quran, reciting the sacred verses without a single mistake in pronunciation, as well as learning religious rituals such as prayer, was the core of this type of school. To learn basic arithmetic, weights and measures, the students were sent to the public weighing scales in the

market-place.[59] Until 1867, the Egyptian government usually did not interfere with the kuttāb, nor did it spend any money to support it. The kuttāb was usually financed by awqāf and by the pupils' parents, who paid the teacher and hence could negotiate the curriculum with him.[60]

Egyptian Christians also ran their own kuttābs. Similar to Muslim schools, the Coptic katātīb were common both in cities as well as in the countryside.[61] Besides the teaching of reading and writing skills, the transmission of religious material -especially the memorisation of parts of the Gospels, Epistles of the New Testaments and Psalms, as well as knowledge of Coptic-language prayers- was central in Coptic kuttābs. Furthermore, unlike in Muslim schools, non-religious subjects such as geometry, arithmetic, and geography were taught.[62] Schoolchildren were around seven to twelve years old and some families sent their girls to school, usually to be taught together with the boys.[63]

Many teachers of the kuttābs were blind, in the Coptic schools in particular. Therefore, the knowledge transmitted was rooted in a culture of orality and attained its credibility through the teacher's authority. Starting in the nineteenth century, this personalised source of knowledge, and the authority of the teacher, was increasingly becoming contested by text-books in schools, which formed a new depersonalised authorised source of knowledge.[64]

The role of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, who was sent to Egypt in 1801 by the Ottoman Porte to re-establish the rule after the French occupation, is viewed as crucial by historians working on modern Egypt. His reforms comprised of the formation of a disciplined conscript army, attempts to industrialise the country, the introduction of cash-crop cotton and administrative re-organisation. The pasha strived to form a strong state, centralising the power over Egypt in the hands of his family and protecting his rule from foreign interference with a strong army. In particular, he aimed to protect his realm against interventions by the Ottoman Empire (in which Egypt nominally belonged until the end of the First World War).[65] Medical and educational reforms, and the introduction of European types of schooling and medicine, are often

[59] Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt,* 2-3*;* Aroian, *The Nationalization of Arabic and Islamic Education in Egypt*, 5; and Langohr, "Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements," 165.
[60] An account on schooling in a turn to the twentieth century kuttāb, see Landau, "Kuttāb," 572-3.
[61] Nasīm, "Niẓām al-katātīb fī Miṣr al-ḥadītha wa-dawrahu fī al-taʿlīm," 94-106.
[62] Langohr, "Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements," 165-6.
[63] Reiss, *Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche,* 14-6; and Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt,* 84-7.
[64] Sedra, *Evangelicals and Educational Reform in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*, 1-5 and 31-4.
[65] Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt,* 19-27; Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men,* 304-5; and Toledano, "Social and Economic Change in the 'Long Nineteenth Century'," 259-61.

highlighted as a modernising project.[66] However, these innovations must also be regarded within the context of the emergence of a strong state and army: medical care aimed at establishing a healthy army, and the new specialised schools to train army officers, medical practitioners, and technical experts.[67] Therefore, the newly formed schools were run by the Department of War and many were closed down again when Muḥammad ʿAlī's army was defeated in Syria by a coalition of Ottoman, British, Russian, Prussian and Austrian powers, for afterwards there was no need for so many experts anymore.[68]

However, the health reforms introduced by Muḥammad ʿAlī did not only concern the army. Large sections of both the urban and rural population were subjected to sanitation measures and vaccination campaigns. As the Egyptian economy was expected to produce export surpluses, the health of the working forces became important for the state. Furthermore, the cholera epidemic in 1831 and the Plague in 1835 were experienced as national disasters and called for measures of prevention. A quarantine system, particularly in port cities, was established in order to prevent such epidemics. Furthermore, patients suffering from the Plague were isolated from their families.[69] Most of the people, however, did not appreciate these measures of isolation, which were experienced as coercive and cruel since they considered plague rather as a divine judgment that infected sinful people in the first line.[70]

After introducing the smallpox vaccination to the army in the early 1820s, immunisation was increasingly extended to civilian populations. Barbers, who already prior to Muḥammad ʿAlī's reforms played an important role as medical practitioners and surgeons, were trained to perform these vaccinations.[71] After a smallpox epidemic in 1836, the administration for these vaccinations was centralised in order to better reach all regions. The vaccinations were performed gratis and all students in government schools received it.[72] Public health was also increasingly promoted in the 1840s through the establishment of various institutions in the main cities as well as in the province. The existing clinics for workers in governmental factories and cotton mills were supplemented with hospitals in all provincial cities. There, workers and the local poor were offered treatment by a physician and a pharmacist. Qaṣr al-ʿAynī was the

[66] Cochran, *Education in Egypt*, 2-6; Reiss, *Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche,* 17-9; Abbas, "French Impact on the Egyptian Educational System under Muhammad Aly and Ismail," 91-9; and al-Ṭībāwī, *Islamic Education,* 51-62.
[67] Khaled Fahmy convincingly criticises the (very common) view of Muḥammad ʿAlī as "moderniser" and maker of the Egyptian nation. He highlights the oppressiveness of the pasha's reforms, with a special focus on the intolerable and humiliating conditions for the soldiers in the conscript army. See Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men.*
[68] Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk*, 17-40; Abbas, "French Impact on the Egyptian Educational System under Muhammad Aly and Ismail," 94; and Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work,* 28.
[69] Jagailloux, *La médicalisation de l'Égypte au XIXe siècle (1798-1918),* 60-2; and Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk*, 3-4.
[70] Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk*, 69-91.
[71] Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk*, 27-8.
[72] Jagailloux, *La médicalisation de l'Égypte au XIXe siècle (1798-1918),* 69-72.

first hospital that treated civilians in Cairo and, like in most clinics established in the 1840s, the services were free of charge. Since women were difficult to reach, a school of midwives was founded and the so-called *ḥakīmāt*, who were trained there, also vaccinated children.[73]

The training of ḥakīmāt was only one part of the medical training introduced through the reforms of Muḥammad ʿAlī. The French doctor, Antoine Barthèlme Clot, played a crucial role in the establishment of a medical school close to Cairo in 1827 (in the 1830s the school was transferred to the hospital Qaṣr al-ʿAynī). The school aimed to train Egyptian doctors in order to provide better health to the army. The students trained in medical science which followed curriculums from Europe, from where many members of the faculty also came from. The future doctors were taught in the fields of anatomy, physiology, hygiene, topology, pharmacy, pathology, botany etc.[74] Additionally, some students were trained in foreign languages in order to translate specialised literature to Arabic. The students were housed, fed, clothed, and instructed at the state's expense and also received a monthly allowance.[75]

The school to train ḥakīmas was founded in 1832 and Clot adopted the French model for this school. Hence, women in Egypt were formally trained as medical professionals relatively early compared to other regions in the Middle East or in Europe. As many families were reluctant to send their daughters to this school -despite the fact that they received an allowance, free housing and food- most of the first students came form the lowest class. In a four to six year course the women learned reading, theory and practice of obstetrics, postpartum hygiene, dressing simple wounds, techniques for vaccination and the preparation of common drugs.[76]

Muḥammad ʿAlī's educational system was built top down, beginning with the foundation of higher and technical instituitions in the 1820s. Two kinds of schools were established: (1) strictly military schools to train officers and (2) schools teaching engineering, translation, medicine, administrative services and veterinary medicine. European teachers were hired to impart their knowledge. Experts, especially from France and Italy, conceptualised new types of schools and former European army officers instructed Muḥammad ʿAlī's military cadre.

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[73] Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk*, 137-47. *Ḥakīma* has been translated with different terms in the research on this female medical training. Discussing the terminology and the different translations of ḥakīma, Nancy Gallagher notes: "Whether they were doctors, midwives, or public health nurses, it depends on the interpretation of the historian, the sources, and the translation of terms." See Gallagher, "Writing Women Medical Practitioners into the History of Modern Egypt," 362.

[74] Jagailloux, *La médicalisation de l'Égypte au XIXe siècle (1798-1918),* 46-53.

[75] Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk*, 38.

[76] Gallagher, "Writing Women Medical Practitioners into the History of Modern Egypt," 351-2; and Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk*, 122-5. The history of female medical practitioners in nineteenth century Egypt, their role in society and for the state is controversially discussed in various studies. An overview on different positions in this discussion, see Gallagher, "Writing Women Medical Practitioners into the History of Modern Egypt," 352-62.

The students who entered these higher schools were recruited from the traditional kuttābs since basic reading and writing skills were required.[77]

Due to a lack of kuttāb-students, the government was forced to establish new state-run primary schools and also to extend control over the existing kuttābs. Since the students received clothing (a uniform), rations and stipends in these schools, parents from poorer families were especially attracted to sending their children there. Like in most of the newly formed governmental schools, students were subjected to strict military discipline.[78] Experimental schools following the British Lancaster-Schools were founded in the 1840's and were apparently deemed a success since their number grew after the initial years. The postcolonial historian Timothy Mitchell describes this type of school as follows:

"The school was a system of perfect discipline. Students were kept constantly moving from task to task, with every motion and every space disciplined and put to use. Each segment of time was regulated, so that at every moment a student was either receiving instruction, repeating it, supervising, or checking. It was a technique in which the exact position and precise task of each individual at every moment was coordinated, to perform together as a machine. Authority and obedience were diffused, without diminution, throughout the school, implicating every individual in a system of order. The model school was a model of the perfect society."[79]

The Lancaster schools were not established for the military but rather for the community, aiming to form disciplined members of the society. Mitchell regards the spread of disciplinary powers in schools and in the army as an attempt to form productive and efficient subjects "from the inside out" and thus as a form of colonial power that prepared Egypt to be penetrated by European economic and political powers.[80]

In addition to the establishment of new educational institutions, Muḥammad ʿAlī sent missions of students to Europe in order to gain more qualified experts for his reforms. The first student mission was sent to Italy in 1809 and a further, larger delegation to Paris, in the period from 1826 to 1836. According to the educational historian Heyworth-Dunne, it might be regarded as "typical of him [Muḥammad ʿAlī] to send men of his own kind to Europe to see for themselves what was lacking in the country and what the westerners had to give and teach and what was suitable to the Turk's ideas of progress and reform rather than to depend solely on the advice of foreigners who happened to be in the country (...)."[81] The best-known student

[77] Aroian, *The Nationalization of Arabic and Islamic Education in Egypt*, 9-10; and Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt,* 111-52.
[78] Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work,* 27; and Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt,* 152-7.
[79] Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 71.
[80] Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 74 and 94.
[81] Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt,* 104-5. Muḥammad ʿAlī's fascination with western models of reform should not be overstated. As obviously as he was borrowing knowledge and technological innovations in particular from the French, he was equally influenced by the Otto-

sent to Paris in the delegation from 1826 to 1831 was Rifāʿa Bey al-Ṭahṭāwī who wrote a book on his experiences and impressions of France.[82]

While Muḥammad ʿAlī is regarded as an important reformer of the education system due to his introduction of European schooling systems and knowledge to Egypt, his heirs ʿAbbās I (1849-1854) and Saʿīd (1854-1863) are considered as conservative. In the historiography, they are held responsible for the decline of the newly formed school system and for closing down many of the public schools.[83] In contrast their heir, Ismāʿīl (1863-1879), was fluent in French, and very open to European influences whether it were in education, technology or architecture.[84] Ismāʿīl reopened the Department of Education closed down by Saʿīd and he re-established the types of school opened by Muḥammad ʿAlī. A particular concern was the establishment of more primary schools, not only in Alexandria and Cairo, but also in the main towns of the provinces. Furthermore, the kuttābs were increasingly supervised by the government. As there was a lack of well educated teachers, ʿAlī Mubārak, Minister of Education and influential bureaucrat in the second half of the nineteenth century, founded the Dar al-ʿUlūm in 1871 as the first teacher training institution in Egypt.[85]

The reforms in public health were not abolished by Muḥammad ʿAlī's successors, but neither were the health endeavours significantly enlarged. ʿAbbās neglected the sanitary structures and re-organised the medical school that was previously administered by Antoine Barthèlme Clot. The French faculty was replaced by German and Italian professors, who introduced their own medical curriculum. Although they were interested in clinical research and also made significant discoveries (for instance Theodor Bilharz became famous for his discovery of schistosoma haematobium, the so-called bilharzia), the change in the system was unfavourable for the quality of the school. Saʿīd closed the school in 1855, but it was later reopened by Ismāʿīl. The school improved considerably after several reorganisations and students were again sent for post-graduate studies to Europe.[86] Hospitals and the countrywide health system continued to operate during the reign of Saʿīd, and Ismāʿīl's administration even slightly extended the services in provinces. Furthermore, Muḥammad ʿAlī's successors renewed the drainage system in Cairo and aimed to provide filtered water to certain parts of the city. How-

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man's who themselves were also reforming their institutions by adopting French models to their needs. See Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men,* 80-1.

[82] Öhrnberg, "Rifāʿa Bey al-Ṭahṭāwī," 541-2. Ṭahṭāwī's book is called "Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz ilā talkhīṣ Bārīz" and was published in 1834.

[83] Cochran, *Education in Egypt*, 4.

[84] Scharabi, *Kairo. Stadt und Architektur im Zeitalter des europäischen Kolonialismus*, 38-88; Aroian, *The Nationalization of Arabic and Islamic Education in Egypt*, 9-11; and Goldschmidt, Arthur. *Modern Egypt,* 34-5.

[85] Abbas, "French Impact on the Egyptian Educational System under Muhammad Aly and Ismail," 96-9; and Aroian, *The Nationalization of Arabic and Islamic Education in Egypt*, 1-11.

[86] Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk*, 45-8.

ever, cholera epidemics continued to break out during the second half of the nineteenth century, and the medical infrastructure provided was not enough. Furthermore, the financial crisis during Ismāʿīl's rule had a devastating impact on health institutions.[87]

Health and education was not only promoted by the government and by the religious communities. The growing number of foreigners, particularly Europeans, started to found educational and medical institutions. Very few foreigners had lived in Egypt until the mid-nineteenth century. The cotton boom in the 1860s and the British occupation starting in 1882 attracted many foreigners, and they soon owned most of the factories, trade companies and agricultural land. Furthermore, many European experts were needed for the construction of a modern infrastructure; for channels, railways, bridges, and, indeed, the Suez Cannel. The legal benefits of the capitulations also attracted foreigners. This system had been introduced by the Ottoman Sultan to make it easier to do business with European Christians settling in the Empire. It guaranteed benefits to foreigners from most European countries, such as tax exemptions and immunity from local laws, while being subject to the jurisdiction of Mixed Courts.[88]

The immigrants founded schools, primarily to educate their own children and to teach them their language. If not enough nationals attended the classes, then Egyptians could also send their children to such schools. The largest European minorities immigrating to Egypt were Greeks and Italians. They often fled the poverty and political difficulties of their countries.[89] These foreign communities not only established schools for their children, but also hospitals, where medical personal from their home country provided health care.[90]

In contrast to the schools which targeted own nationals, missionary schools attracted Egyptians as well as foreigners. The first Catholic schools were set up by Franciscan monks in the third decade of the eighteenth century in Cairo and mostly Catholic children were taught there in Italian and Arabic.[91] The Franciscans' endeavours to settle in Egypt go back to the thirteenth century. They established themselves very slowly and aimed at building up a Uniate

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[87] Jagailloux, *La médicalisation de l'Égypte au XIXe siècle (1798-1918),* 77-90.

[88] Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt,* 33-4; Toledano, "Social and Economic Change in the 'Long Nineteenth Century'," 254-5; and Krämer, "Moderner Staat, kolonialer Staat?," 174-5. Also different minorities coming from other regions of the Ottoman Empire, such as Syrians and Armenians, immigrated to Egypt. The number of the Jews, a religious minority living in Egypt for more than two thousand of years in Egypt, increased by 250-300% from 1850-1897. Some of them came from Russia and Eastern Europe, fleeing the politically and economically difficult circumstances, while Oriental Jews coming from the Maghreb stayed only for short in Egypt, in order to reach Palestine. See Krämer, "Minderheit, Millet, Nation?," 21-8.

[89] Karanasou, "The Greek Diaspora," 24-57; and Petricioli, "Italian Schools in Egypt," 179-91.

[90] Jagailloux, *La médicalisation de l'Égypte au XIXe siècle (1798-1918), 153-60.* For instance the German hospital run by deaconesses, see Fueß, *Die deutsche Gemeinde in Ägypten von 1919 – 1939,* 48; or French hospitals, see Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales (1920-1960)*, 451-2.

[91] Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, 84-90; Sūryāl, *Al-Mujtamaʿ al-Qibṭī fī Miṣr fī (al-qarn 19)*, 34-5; and Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales (1920-1960)*, 73-5.

church.[92] Similar to other foreign schools, most of the Catholic missionary schools were founded in the second half and in particular towards the end of the nineteenth century. Religious orders such as the Jesuits, Lazarists or Franciscans ran schools according to European models in the major Egyptian cities as well as in Upper Egypt. The Lazarist school in Alexandria for example, was modelled according to the French Lyceum and received support from the Khedive.[93] French was the predominant language in class, but Italian also had an important role in some schools. Catholic schools generally had a very good reputation so that wealthy foreigners as well as the local elite sent their children to these institutions.[94]

Except for a few unsuccessful attempts by Moravians in the eighteenth century, the Protestant missionary school work started with the arrival of five German missionaries in 1826.[95] These missionaries had their formation through the Basel Mission, but were sent to Egypt by the Anglican *Church Missionary Society*. They did not intend to establish a new Church according to an Anglican or Protestant tradition but aimed to initiate a spiritual awakening within the Coptic Church, which they regarded as lifeless, and stuck in rituals and superstitions.[96] Choosing educational work as a major missionary method, they established schools following the Lancaster model.[97] Besides primary schools, amongst others also one for girls, the Protestants established, in cooperation with the Coptic patriarchate, a teacher training institution and a theological seminary until 1845. They also advised the Patriarch in forming Coptic schools where teaching compromised of religious as well as secular subjects such as maths, geography and history. Furthermore, languages were important in these schools and not only Arabic but also Coptic, French, Italian, Turkish and English were taught.[98]

Due to financial reasons, the Anglican missionary work was given up in the 1850s and continued only after the British occupation in 1882. However, this new beginning of missionary work happened in an imperial context and thus the role of the Anglican Church and its Church Missionary Society were not comparable to the former endeavours.[99] The Anglican Church served as Church for the British in Egypt and additionally aimed to establish Egyptian con-

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[92] The Uniate Copts followed their own doctrines and performed their own ceremonies but they acknowledged the authority of the Pope of Rome. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, 87.
[93] Salāma, *Tārikh al-taʿlīm al-ajnabī fī Miṣr*, 228; *and* Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, 407.
[94] Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, 406-10.
[95] Sedra, "John Lieder and his Mission in Egypt," 222-4; and Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, 91.
[96] Sedra, "Modernity's Mission," 208-10; Ibrahim, *The Copts of Egypt,* 27-31; and Sedra, *Evangelicals and Educational Reform in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*, 90-5.
[97] Sedra, "John Lieder and his Mission in Egypt," 227-9.
[98] Reiss, *Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche*, 21-3.
[99] Ibrahim, *The Copts of Egypt*, 47; and Reiss, *Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche*, 19-21.

gregations. Moreover, the Church Missionary Society got involved in educational work again, establishing schools and also a seminary to train Bible women. Moreover, this mission was particularly active in medical work, not only establishing clinics in the Delta in addition to two well regarded hospitals, but also a welfare centre for ultra poor women in the slums of Bulaq.[100]

Unlike the Anglican Church Missionary Society, the *American Presbyterian Mission* not only aspired to evangelise Muslims and Copts, but also intended to establish an evangelical church. Arriving in 1854, they first founded schools in Cairo and Alexandria, but soon extended their work to Upper Egypt, where they were particularly active in Assiut from the 1860s. Most of the new members of the evangelical church had a Coptic background, since Muslims and Jews only rarely converted. This active proselytisation and the growth of the evangelical community provoked the Coptic Pope Demetrius II (patriarch from 1861 to 1870), who fought against the missionary activities by establishing schools, but also by using repression against Protestants.[101] The American missionaries became the largest Protestant mission and were very active in educational work as well as in medical mission. The Americans founded a theological seminary in Assiut in 1865, which enjoyed a good reputation. They also founded Sunday schools and primary and secondary schools for boys and girls in Upper Egypt as well as in the main cities.[102] Furthermore, two hospitals and various clinics became part of the steadily increasing medical missionary activities.[103]

Education and Health in the Context of British Colonial Rule

The British administration set out to reshape the existing educational and health institutions relying on the experiences gained in India but also in Britain. Lord Cromer, who ruled Egypt de facto from 1883 to 1907, had the mission to provide stability in order to secure the Suez Canal for the Empire and to protect European life and property.[104] Since Egypt was deeply in-debted to European creditors, the British administration conducted tax reforms and improved the infrastructure to gain higher revenues from the cotton export. However, Cromer also cut

[100] The English Mission College for instance which will be examined in Chapter 2, although not formally part of the Church Mission College, was closely associated with the Anglican Church in Egypt. On the institutions of the Church Mission Society, see Richter, *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient*, 249-51; Rhodes, *The Anglican Church in Egypt 1936-1956 and its Relationship with British Imperialism*, 69; and Lunde, "Building Bonny Babies".
[101] Ibrahim, *The Copts of Egypt*, 31-3; Reiss, *Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche*, 23-32; Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 30-47.
[102] Salāma, *Tārikh al-taʿlīm al-ajnabī fī Miṣr,* 203-24; and Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, 410-2.
[103] Richter, *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient*, 246-7.
[104] Krämer, "Moderner Staat, kolonialer Staat?," 176.

the budget for public education, introduced tuition fees for government schools and also ensured that the budget for public health was kept to a minimum until the end of the nineteenth country.[105] In contrast, the Islamic educational tradition often provided free education and usually pious foundations covered the costs. In the Egyptian government schools only five percent of the students paid tuition in 1879. Furthermore, these schools often covered the basic needs of the students and provided food, housing and clothes. Two decades after the British occupation 92% of government school students paid tuition fees.[106]

British rule was mainly concerned with Egypt's financial recovery in order to amortise the debts. However, the devastating cholera epidemic in 1883 revealed the necessity for sanitation and public health measures.[107] The colonial provisions for health were not motivated by humanitarian concerns in the first place, but rather aimed to ensure the welfare of Europeans and of the British troops. Furthermore, the involvement in public health and the control over infectious diseases increased the government's power over the daily life of the people.[108] Quarantine and the isolation of infected villages were the initial measures used to prevent epidemics of pestilence and cholera. British public health officers put pressure on Cromer to further improve public health and their demands for reforms in the field of sanitation were supported by notable Egyptians.[109] Private companies installed water filtration systems in thirteen cities, streets were paved in the city centres and the houses of the better residential areas were connected to a sewage system. However, rural areas were almost completely neglected by these sanitation measures and poorer urban neighbourhoods hardly profited from the sanitation.[110]

Privatisation was not only promoted in the water supply, but also in the health care services. Many of the hospitals which enjoyed the reputation of being modern were designed to care for a specific national group.[111] The existing governmental hospitals in Cairo and Alexandria, as well as in the major provincial cities, continued to expand their services for a growing population. The quality of care in the hospitals decreased during the first ten years of British occupa-

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[105] Salāma, *Athār al-Iḥtilāl al-Briṭānī fī al-Taʿlīm al-Qawmī fī Miṣr (1882-1922),* 34-50; Jagailloux, *La médicalisation de l'Égypte au XIXe siècle (1798-1918),* 127-9; and Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 319.
[106] Reid, "Turn-of-the-Century Egyptian School Days," 381.
[107] Jagailloux, *La médicalisation de l'Égypte au XIXe siècle (1798-1918),* 121; and Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 349.
[108] Morsy, *Gender, Sickness, and Healing in Rural Egypt,* 21.
[109] Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 349-53.
[110] Jagailloux, *La médicalisation de l'Égypte au XIXe siècle (1798-1918),* 130-9; and Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 254-5.
[111] Morsy, *Gender, Sickness, and Healing in Rural Egypt,* 21-2; for the medical care of poorer people in particular elite women were increasingly establishing clinics and hospitals. See Gallagher, "Writing Women Medical Practitioners into the History of Modern Egypt," 362-6.

tion.[112] The rural population relied in the first place on healers practicing popular medicine, as well as on barbers and midwives, who were trained by the government. In Cairo, the hospital Qaṣr al-ʿAynī and its medical school came under British administration and they were reorganised and adapted to the British medical system. English was introduced as the language for training at the medical school, the students had to pay tuitions, new medical subjects were introduced, and textbooks as well as faculty were imported from Britain.[113] The education of midwives (ḥakīmas) was also reorganised and they lost their medical role as independent practitioners. Prior to the reorganisation, the ḥakīma not only performed midwifery functions but treated various diseases, gave vaccinations and played a role in examining the bodies of women in criminal cases. In the colonial medical system the ḥakīmāt became dependent nurses, following the model of Florence Nightingale's training, and thus losing many of their competences to the doctor.[114]

Not only medical education, but also schooling at primary level was impacted by the British occupation. The kuttābs in the villages, for instance, could compete for government grants-in-aid from the Ministry of Public Instruction from 1898 on. However, these grants entailed inspections by the ministry and hence the kuttābs became part of the system of the government's elementary schools (*al-madāris al-awwaliyya*). These schools were designed to offer a minimum of education to children in the rural areas and were obliged to teach all fields in Arabic. Unlike the fee-charging primary schools (*al-madāris al-ibtidāʾiyya*) where elite education for the upper- and middle-class youth was provided, the children attending elementary schools usually did not learn a foreign language.[115] Therefore, children from poorer and rural areas were not able to continue their education in secondary or technical schools as instruction in higher education was partially in French or English.[116] Moreover, a system of examinations on primary and secondary level and positions in the government service were only granted to candidates who passed this test, which was known to be very difficult.[117]

This policy of strictly limiting the access to higher education for Egyptians was introduced by the British, who aimed at stabilising the social and political order to ensure the stay of their imperial rule. Furthermore, it was difficult for educated Egyptians to find work outside of the governmental sector, since trade and industry was mostly run by foreigners and free profes-

[112] Jagailloux, *La médicalisation de l'Égypte au XIXe siècle (1798-1918),* 89-90.
[113] Abugideiri, *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in Colonial Egypt,* 91-114.
[114] Abugideiri, "The Scientisation of Culture," 88-91. On the role of ḥakīmāt in criminal cases, see Fahmy, "Women, Medicine, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Egypt," 57-9.
[115] Ikeda, "Toward the Democratization of Public Education," 221.
[116] Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work*, 31.
[117] Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 323.

sions were underdeveloped. Therefore Cromer feared that free education would raise a large number of underemployed and dissatisfied school graduates who might turn to nationalist protests. For him poorly educated people were much less threatening since they would rather remain in their ranks and devote themselves to useful small trades and handiwork. Thrifty peasantry and an artisan class skilled in European manufactures matched the imperial interests.[118] Also, the leading secondary schools should not provide liberal education on British lines but rather produce disciplined and reliable clerks for the bureaucracy. Therefore Egypt's first secular university was founded through Egyptian, not British, initiative in 1908.[119]

Cromer's rule did not raise the educational standard, but it still impacted the Egyptian society.[120] Although a support of rural kuttāb education was intended to fight illiteracy, the percentage of the population receiving education rose insignificantly as compared to the state prior to the occupation.[121] But in respect of stabilising the colonial rule, the British policy was successful for the barriers between country and city were reinforced, the class hierarchy remained, and hence social mobility was hampered.[122]

"Colonial capitalism" shaped Egypt's economy during the British occupation. Although Egypt already started growing cash-crop cotton for export during the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī, the British colonial rule was critical for the integration of Egypt as subordinate market participant into the world capitalist economy.[123] The cultivation and export of cotton remained the largest sector of the economy, despite the substantial growth of the industrial sector in the 1930s and 1940s. Moreover, an efficient handling of raw materials and imports required the expansion of the transportation systems. Therefore, the railway system was established in the second half of the nineteenth century and the importance of port cities grew.[124]

Egypt's population increased from 9.7 million in 1897 to 19 million in 1947, according to census returns.[125] The number of inhabitants in cities grew disproportionally as impoverished peasants migrated and sought employment in the regional centres. In so doing, they found

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[118] Reid, "Turn-of-the-Century Egyptian School Days," 382; and Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work*, 31
[119] Krämer, "Moderner Staat, kolonialer Staat?," 180; and Reid, "Turn-of-the-Century Egyptian School Days," 376.
[120] Salāma, *Athār al-Iḥtilāl al-Birīṭānī fī al-Taʿlīm al-Qawmī fī Miṣr (1882-1922),* 165-96.
[121] Mansfield, *The British in Egypt*, 140-1.
[122] Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work*, 31-2.
[123] Beinin uses the term "colonial capitalism" as usual alternative to "feudal", "semifeudal", "traditional" etc. since he regards these terms as too-vague, Eurocentric, implying that Egypt was lacking social dynamism or an ontological otherness from modern Europe. He characterises "colonial capitalism" in Egypt as follows "The economy was characterised by private ownership of the means of production, production of commodities for a market, commodification of labor, rational calculation of profits, a tendency toward capital accumulation, and the emergence of bureaucratically administered, large-scale agricultural, industrial, and commercial enterprises." See Beinin, "Egypt: Society and Economy, 1923-1952," 319.
[124] Chaichian, "The Effects of World Capitalist Economy on Urbanization in Egypt, 1800-1970", 30.
[125] Beinin, "Egypt: Society and Economy, 1923-1952," 313.

more jobs in transport and services than in manufacturing. Since the cultivation of cotton largely replaced subsistence agriculture, Egypt's economy grew to depend on the world price of cotton.[126] Therefore the Egyptian population, and particularly small peasants and landless agrarian workers, would inevitably suffer if prices fell (such as during the depression at the beginning of the 1930s or during the 1951-52 recession). Furthermore, also agrarian crises caused by cotton pest, poor drainage or soil depletion were devastating for the economy and especially for the poor.[127]

While small peasants had to sell their land, a class of large estate-holders and agrarian notables profited economically and gained political importance, in particular in the period of the constitutional monarchy.[128] These elite benefited in the 1890s, when the last barriers for the private property of land under cultivation were removed and in consequence large areas of fertile land could be acquired.[129] In order to prevent becoming solely dependent on agrarian production and on cotton prices, some large-landowners sought to diversify their investments and therefore promoted industrialisation. A leading advocate of economic nationalism was Muḥammad Ṭalʿat Ḥarb Pasha, who established Bank Miṣr with the objective of financing industrial development in Egypt. Besides the Egyptian elite, the permanently resident Greeks, Italians, Armenians, Syrian Christians and Jews (the so-called Mutamaṣṣirūn*)* as well as foreign nationals were mainly active in industry and large businesses. However, they usually did not share the objectives and ideology of Ṭalʿat Ḥarb.[130]

In the growing cities a new social group was emerging: the *efendiyya.*[131] This class had its origins in the nineteenth century and *efendi* was an honorific title for western educated bureaucrats from privileged backgrounds.[132] After 1923, these efendis became the state-making pashas and beys, who as "bearers of national mission" crucially shaped Egypt's constitutional era.[133] The new efendiyya that emerged in the interwar-period shared the western type of education with the old efendis, but were not part of the cultural or political elites. The new efendi

[126] Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt*, 80.
[127] Beinin, "Egypt: Society and Economy, 1923-1952," 321.
[128] Chaichian, "The Effects of World Capitalist Economy on Urbanization in Egypt, 1800-1970," 29-30; Beinin, "Egypt: Society and Economy, 1923-1952," 321; and Fueß, *Die deutsche Gemeinde in Ägypten von 1919 – 1939,* 23-5.
[129] According to Chaichian "(…) the proportion of *mulk* (land held as private property) increased from one-seventh of the total area in the 1850s to one-third in the 1890s." See Chaichian, "The Effects of World Capitalist Economy on Urbanization in Egypt, 1800-1970", 30. Emphasis in the original.
[130] Beinin, "Egypt: Society and Economy, 1923-1952," 310-1.
[131] *Efendi* is an Ottoman title of Greek origin and means "master". It was increasingly used as title for certain functionaries in the Ottoman administration from the 16th century on. See Lewis, "Efendi," 704-5.
[132] Ryzova, "Egyptianizing Modernity through the 'New Effendiya'," 125. Reid gives insights to career choices of students forming the old efendiyya in the pre-constitutional era. See Reid, "Educational and Career Choices of Egyptian Students, 1882-1922," 324-78.
[133] The expression "bearer of the nation" is used by Beinin, "Egypt: Society and Economy, 1923-1952," 314.

belonged to an urban middle class, civil servants, white-collar workers and students plus the petty bourgeoisie; that is to say artisans, small merchants and owners of small industry.[134]

However, it is misleading to define the efendiyya solely in socioeconomic terms since efendi was also a conceptual category and hence a cultural term. It was a label for men who adopted certain ideas and manners, diacritics of dress (western clothes and ṭarbūsh) that were commonly defined as "modern", but not necessarily regarded as westernised by contemporaries.[135] The British perceived the effendis, due to their skills and education, as a political force that was of extreme importance to their interests in the Middle East and they therefore considered the development of friendly relations as important. However, the political power of the effendis was also perceived as potentially dangerous. The British discussed the "efendi problem" in the 1930s and 1940s as a large number of efendis were considered as political trouble makers. The economic difficulties led to a rise in the costs of living as well as to a high number of men who were unemployed or badly-paid despite their good education.[136] Even secondary or high school graduates, if their families were not well connected, faced difficulties in finding a suitable job in the 1930s.[137]

Schooling during the Constitutional Era

The Egyptian constitution of 1923 declared freedom of education within the limits of public security and morals, and stipulated that elementary education should be compulsory for both boys and girls. Free elementary compulsory schools were established in 1925, offering a six-year course on a half day basis, allowing children in rural areas to assist their parents in the fields.[138] Since elementary schooling, including the older kuttābs, grew rapidly during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Elementary Education Commission drafted a law determining the minimum curricular requirements in 1919. The syllabus for a projected program of mass education should require religion (around one third of the total school time was dedicated to Quran memorisation), reading, writing and arithmetic as basic subjects.[139]

The partial independence of Egypt also resulted in a policy revision in public health. The administration of the Qaṣr al-ʿAynī medical school and the public health bureaucracy was large-

[134] Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 38.
[135] Ryzova, "Egyptianizing Modernity through the 'New Effendiya'," 124-6 and150; and Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 38-9.
[136] Ryzova, "Egyptianizing Modernity through the 'New Effendiya'," 136-8.
[137] Abdalla, *The Student Movement and National Politics in Egypt 1923–1973*, 34-8.
[138] Matthews and Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East*, 21; and Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*, 182.
[139] Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work*, 67-8.

ly "Egyptianised".[140] While, prior to the First World War, Egyptians usually served as low-level assistants to British doctors, their qualifications and medical standing were rising. However, being a licensed doctor remained something exclusive, as the number of doctors by 1929 make evident: 2'409 licensed doctors (1'830 out of them Egyptian) served a population of 15 millions. Although Egyptians enjoyed more opportunities to make a medical career, the system introduced by colonial medicine was not essentially altered. Medical knowledge for instance, continued to be regulated by state thought licensing and the diplomas were only awarded by certain government-recognised medical schools.[141] While doctors had to obtain a license, village barbers and midwives without formal training (the dāya) were retrained and in doing so, received a certificate from the government. By providing an additional six-month training to the dāyas, the government aimed to address the shortage of nurses.[142]

The creation of a healthy Egyptian society was part of the nationalist project and rural areas in particular were largely neglected by public health efforts. The introduction and spread of perennial irrigation by the British raised incidence of bilharzia and polution of drinking water of the villagers. The public health ministry tried to promote health by sending out travelling tent hospitals. In the beginning these mobile clinics specialised in eye diseases and trained ophthalmologists treated diseases and performed required surgeries. Since these tent hospitals were popular in the rural population, further mobile clinics specialised on bilharzia and hookworm treatments were also established. Furthermore, starting in the 1930s, village hospitals were spread to rural areas in order to treat outpatients. Since these strategies were focusing on acute care and not prevention of disease their success was dubious.[143]

Not only the promotion of health, but also of public education was regarded as essential by many Egyptian nationalists and it became an important goal of the Egyptian government in the constitutional era. In fact, the number of public schools as well as of students increased steadily, even dramatically so in the 1940s and 1950s (Table 1). Taking the population increase into account, the relative increase in the number of students between 1913 and the early 1950s was still more than three-fold.[144] Accordingly, public expenditures for schooling increased: While in 1900 1.03 percent of the total state budget was spent on education, this fig-

[140] Morsy, *Gender, Sickness, and Healing in Rural Egypt,* 23-4. The Egyptian doctors emancipated themselves from their British medical superiors already during the First World War, when many British doctors served in the army. See Abugideiri, "The Scientisation of Culture," 91-2.
[141] Abugideiri, *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in Colonial Egypt,* 168-9.
[142] Dodd, *Methods of Promoting Rural Health in the Near East*, 4-5; and Morsy, *Gender, Sickness, and Healing in Rural Egypt,* 24.
[143] Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 355-7.
[144] The number of Enrolled Students in 1913/14 was 324'000 (Egypt's total population 12'186'000) while in 1951 around 1'900'000 students were registered (population: 20'872'000). See Ikeda, "Toward the Democratization of Public Education," 220.

ure almost quadrupled to 3.93 percent in 1920/21 and reached 11.67 percent in 1945/46.[145] However, when considering the large number of students, in comparison to the expenditures for the primary and secondary schools only a relatively small amount of the money was spent on mass schooling.[146] Therefore it took much longer, and a huge political effort, to provide tuition-free education in those schools that provided a higher standard of education and enabled to continue in higher-education institutions. The government decided to abolish tuition in primary schools in 1943 and in secondary schools in 1950 and enacted a law to unify primary and elementary schools in 1951.[147]

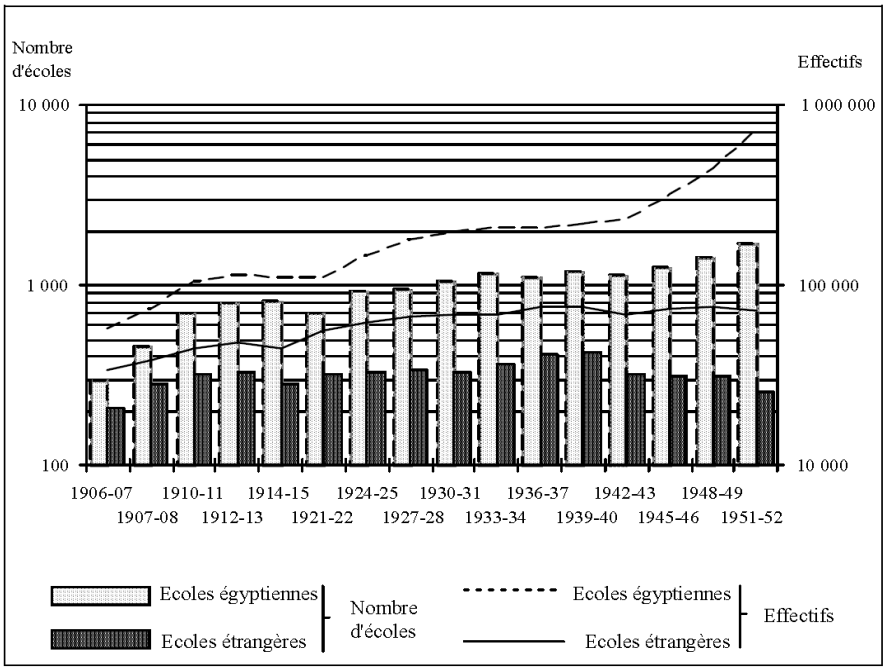

Table 1: Evolution of Egyptian and foreign Education from 1906 to 1952 (semi-logarithmic scale)[148]

Regarding the number of Egyptian educational institutions, the importance of foreign schools decreased during the first half of the twentieth century. However, in absolute numbers, foreign schools were still on the increase until the outbreak of the Second World War and decreased during the 1940s (see Table 1). Around 75,000 students, forming a quarter of all pu-

[145] Matthews and Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East*, 16.
[146] The British Inspector F. O. Mann, inspecting the Egyptian Educational System for the Minister of Education in Cairo in 1929, stated: "In England for every one pound spent on higher education four pounds are spent on elementary education. In Egypt for every pound spent on elementary education nearly two pounds are spent for higher education. And it ought to be borne in mind in this connection, that England as a highly industrialized and commercial state, should necessarily require a much larger proportion of its population with advanced technical and professional qualifications than a country like Egypt, almost wholly a land of agriculture and peasantry." See Mann, F. O.: Report on Certain Aspects of Egyptian Education Rendered to his Excellency, the Minister of Education at Cairo. July 1929, AEDE, Box 43c, p. 5. For further calculations comparing the expenditures for the elementary schools with the primary respectively secondary schools, see Ikeda, "Toward the Democratization of Public Education," 221-2; and Cochran, *Education in Egypt*, 36.
[147] Faksh, "The consequences of the Introduction and Spread of modern Education," 46-7; and more detailed, providing insights into the discussions concerning the expansion of public education during the 1940s, see Ikeda, "Toward the Democratization of Public Education," 223-44.
[148] Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales (1920-1960)*, 805.

pils, were attending classes in more than 400 foreign schools - most of them religious i.e. Christian. Most Egyptian students who attended a foreign school went to French schools, which were predominantly Catholic, but the schools from the American Presbyterian Mission also attracted many Egyptian pupils. Other schools, such as British, Italian and Greek schools, taught mainly their nationals and Egyptians were the minority, especially in the case of the Italian and Greek institutions.[149] Most of these foreign schools were considered as schools for the upper classes and due to the foreign languages the graduates were qualified to fill key commercial jobs.[150]

Starting in the 1930s, foreign schools were increasingly obliged to meet requirements imposed by the Egyptian Ministry of Education. The government conducted regular inspections and mandated certain requirements for the syllabus, such as the teaching of the Arabic language for all students (a closer analysis on the relations between missionary schools and government will be found in the last section of this chapter).[151]

Educational historians and experts have widely criticised the quality of Egyptian public schooling and the colonial education policies during the constitutional era.[152] Essentially, they doubted that the curriculum and prevalent teaching methods, particularly those of elementary schools, resulted in an effective benefit for life. The period was characterised by various curriculum revisions, but these reforms did not affect the basic concepts and methods of teaching. Most changes were not fundamental and did not include modifications such as the simplification of the overcrowded syllabus, reforms to introduce more practical subjects in the elite schools or more cultural subjects in technical schools.[153]

In elementary education, originally aiming to prepare the child for practical life, the schools had poor facilities and were over-crowded with pupils, which resulted in a high drop-out rate rather than a satisfying reduction of illiteracy. Even the notably superior primary schools were

[149] Abécassis, "L'Enseignement étranger en Égypte (1930-1960), " 99-100; Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales (1920-1960)*, 806-9. Matthews and Akrawi list the ratio of total enrollments / Egyptian students for the major nations for the years 1942-43: "American schools were first, with 8'073 Egyptians in a total enrollment of 8'719 in 1942-43. French schools were next, with 23'053 Egyptians out of 30'259; English schools had 5'522 out of 9'239; Italian schools had 4'518 out of 8'757; Greek schools had only 512 Egyptians out of 9'973 pupils." See Matthews and Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East*, 113.
[150] Faksh, "The consequences of the Introduction and Spread of modern Education," 47.
[151] Cochran, *Education in Egypt*, 29.
[152] Discussions on teaching and pedagogy took place in English as well as in Arabic. Arabic pedagogical journals translated writings of famous pedagogues such as Montessori, Dewy and Pestalozzi and discussed their ideas. Also a firm critic of western politics in Egypt, the school-teacher and founder of the Muslim Brotherhood Ḥasan al-Bannā, evaluated the ideas of the mentioned theorists as very useful. See Farag, "Éduquer les éducateurs," 337-54; and Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 32-3. Professors at Egyptian Universities trained in Universities in the United States, such as Amīr Buqṭur and Russel Galt (both of the American University of Cairo) or Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad Raḍwān (from the ʿAyn Shams University), criticised in particular elementary schools and called for new teaching methods in the 1930s. See Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work*, 70-1.
[153] Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*, 182-3.

criticised by contemporary experts for they believed the schools were providing an irrelevant education, when considering the circumstances in Egypt and the economic, social, moral and spiritual needs of the time.[154] Furthermore, the administration of public education was centralised and did not consider local circumstances when implementing the school system. As F.O. Mann, the author of a report for the Ministry of Education in 1929, critically stated:

"But it seems desirable to repeat here that at the moment and as far as possible, as secured by the regulations, every Egyptian school is just an exact repetition of every other school of its grade. Head masters and teachers are little more than the instruments for carrying out schemes of instruction super-imposed from above, in the framing of which they have had little or no voice, and which are universally applied from Shellal to Alexandria with a uniformity, which ignores entirely the varying needs and interests of the children, whether they are country or town bred and whether their future will be most probably that of agriculture, or of urban commerce and industry. It must be again emphasised that a system of this sort not only fails to utilize for general educational purposes the local knowledge and professional skill of the head teachers and their assistants, but actually prevents them from making any fully effective use of their abilities in these directions in the conduct of the schools."[155]

However, not only was the curriculum regarded as inappropriate, but also the methods of instructions were deemed unsuitable for the creation of well-educated students. They were expected to memorise a large body of facts and to succeed in a system of examination that was introduced to standardised instruction on a national basis.[156] This predominance of tests in the thinking of students and teachers alike led to rigidity in the daily life of pupils. Military discipline to acquire an irrelevant knowledge, punishments, formal learning and the acceptance of authority, were described to have dominated public schools.[157]

The dissatisfaction with the state of education in Egypt increased during the 1930s among nationalists and made education a topic of major debates.[158] These discussions together with endeavours from the ministry of education resulted in fundamental changes in the educational system in the decade before the 1952 revolution. However, the new directions towards a democratisation and nationalisation of education were only implemented after the revolution. Free education, the unification of elementary level schools (elementary and primary schools were merged), the reform of the inspection system and a considerable extension of the educational budget in general and for the primary education in particular were the results of the new educational politics.[159] The promotion of education was also related to the development of a

[154] Cochran cites here the contemporary educationalist Amīr Buqṭur. See Cochran, *Education in Egypt*, 24.
[155] Mann, F. O.: Report on Certain Aspects of Egyptian Education Rendered to his Excellency, the Minister of Education at Cairo. July 1929, AEDE, Box 43 C, p. 87.
[156] Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*, 185-7; and Cochran, *Education in Egypt*, 38.
[157] Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work,* 70-1; and Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*, 183.
[158] Ikeda, "Toward the Democratization of Public Education," 223.
[159] Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*, 183-7 and 260-5; and Ikeda, "Toward the Democratization of Public Education," 241-44.

countrywide system of health care in the Nasser-era. Both education and health were not considered as part of private charity anymore, but became part of the governmental welfare policy covering rural as well as urban areas.[160]

The nationalistic trend in the ministry of education also affected foreign and missionary schools that were increasingly supervised and had to conform to governmental regulations. The students of these private schools had to attain proficiency in the Arabic language on the same level as the students in the government schools. Furthermore history, geography and civics had to be taught in accordance with the ministry's decrees.[161] For missionary schools, the laws issued in the years 1948 and 1956 deeply affected their work. While Law 38, issued in 1948, prohibited teaching of Christian religions to any non-Muslim, the laws and decrees from 1956 obliged the schools to accept Muslim children and teach them in their respective religion.[162] The year 1956 can be considered as a caesura in the history of foreign and missionary education. Not only were missionary schools forced to abandon an essential religious objective (teaching Christian faith to all the students) but, in the aftermath of the Suez Crisis, British and French citizens were expelled and their companies as well as their schools were nationalised by the Egyptian government.[163]

1.2 European Evangelicals and their Missions in Egypt

Protestants were already active as missionaries in Egypt decades before the first institutions of the *Sudan-Pionier Mission* and of the *Egypt General Mission* were established and before the *English Mission College* started educating students. Moreover, several European communities without any missionary aspirations were living and working in various parts of the country. While the missionaries of the previously mentioned German and British missionary societies generally shared the same objectives and worldviews with their American and Anglican fellow missionaries, they did not necessarily feel comparable affinities with non-missionary compatriots. Europe and North America might have been considered as the "civilised lands", but "civilisation" was not a value per se, as this problematisation of missionary educational work shows:

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[160] Morsy, *Gender, Sickness, and Healing in Rural Egypt,* 27-32; and Chiffoleau, "Itinéraires médicaux en Égypte," 517-9.
[161] Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*, 278.
[162] Meeting of the Trustees of the English Mission College. Cairo, 11.07.1956, AEDE, Bundle 49a; and Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales (1920-1960),* 717-23.
[163] Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales (1920-1960), 723*-33; Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt*, 125-6; and Salāma, *Tārikh al-taʿlīm al-ajnabī fī Miṣr*, 310-1. The French Catholic schools were handed over to the Vatican and therefore remained in the possession of the Catholic Church.

"Those in charge of school work are accused, and not without reason in some cases, of losing their first zeal for direct evangelism; of turning out educated materialists, who have lost reverence for their old faith without gaining a positive religion in its place; of giving a veneer of Western civilisation rather than Christian discipleship; and many like failures."[164]

In missionary writings "western civilisation" appears with ambivalent notions. It is associated (although not necessarily) with a certain kind of education, a type of hygiene and biomedicine, the emancipation of Egyptian women, and technological advancement. However it also stood for atheism, economic and scientific materialism, for immoral interests and habits such as cinema, indecent fashion, "outrageous literature", and alcohol.[165] Moreover, missionaries considered many Europeans in Egypt as "Christians in name only", lacking in "real" faith and moral behaviour in the missionary sense. Therefore, the missionaries alleged that they provided Muslims with an improper image of Christianity.[166]

The faith of the missionaries promoted a transnational awareness of belonging to the same community. Moreover, it also established a self-understanding of being distinct from the majority of society, be it European or Middle Eastern. The religious background of the missionaries is essential for their self-understanding as well as for the objects and methods used in their activities. The missionary societies examined in this study must therefore be contextualised within the framework of those religious movements creating such agencies. Furthermore, insights into some of the essential theological concepts provide a better understanding for the missionaries' motives and motivations. The German Sudan-Pionier Mission and the British Egypt General Mission, two of the missionary societies crucial to this study, are introduced. Since this study does not intend to trace the history of certain missions, only a brief overview on the establishment, objects, main areas of activities and developments are sketched. Both the Sudan-Pionier Mission as well as the Egypt General Mission established several institutions in different villages and cities, while the third mission, the English Mission College was itself an educational institution in Cairo. Therefore, the English Mission College is introduced in Chapter 2.2.1, where too its educational activities and the experiences of the students are examined.

Mission and the Evangelical Revival

Revivalist movements within the Protestant churches increasingly gained popularity and influence in various parts in Europe as well as in the United States during the nineteenth centu-

[164] Reeves Palmer, "Are Schools Efficient Evangelistic Agencies?,"128-9.
[165] Holmes, "The State of Young Egypt," 79.
[166] Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 103.

ry.[167] Although these movements were shaped by regional, social, and political conditions and did not emerge simultaneously (in Great Britain revivalist movements appeared already in the eighteenth century), they still share similar characteristics. Furthermore, evangelical revivalists maintained relations across national and linguistic borders and hence mutually influenced and shaped each other's religious thoughts and practices.[168] Thereby, theological concepts and forms of piety prevalent in earlier religious renewal movements such as pietism reappear in these revivalist movements.[169]

The evangelical revivalists stressed the importance of the individual conversion as an encounter with God and as life changing experience. In the evangelical conception, a conversion is preceded by deep regrets in view of one's own sins and God's forgiving grace enables the individual to be "born again" as a new creature.[170] This act of conversion provides not only the certainty to be redeemed, but it also enables the individual to maintain a deep and personal relationship with God. The "born again" Christian is considered to have become a new person, whose life and behaviour has fundamentally changed and who is committed to a life in personal holiness.[171]

Evangelical Protestants believed that their conversion and their way of life made them distinct from the non-converted majority of society, even if this majority consisted of baptised church members. While communities of converted Christians were eager to live a life in complete faithfulness to God in order to become an "instrument in God's hand", the rest of the society was considered as "world", a sphere of moral decay and increasing faithlessness.[172] Therefore, national barriers were not of major importance for the revivalist movements and the believers often maintained transnational networks. The biblical prophecies were of critical importance for the Evangelicals and they associated them with developments in society and events in the recent history. Following their reading of the Bible and of history, they concluded that the kingdom of God will come soon.[173]

Evangelical revival movements developed substantial evangelistic and social activism. Evangelistic gatherings with charismatic preachers were organised as well as the mass printing of

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[167] Noll, "Evangelikalismus und Fundamentalismus in Nordamerika," 466-7; and Gäbler, *'Auferstehungszeit',* 161-2.
[168] Gäbler, "Evangelikalismus und Réveil," 27-30.
[169] Lehmann, "Die neue Lage," 7-8.
[170] Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 10-2; and Ohlemacher, "Evangelikalismus und Heiligungsbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert," 372-3.
[171] Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700,* 185; Noll, "Evangelikalismus und Fundamentalismus in Nordamerika," 504-6; and Matthias, "Bekehrung und Wiedergeburt," 47-70.
[172] Jakubowski-Tiessen, "Eigenkultur und Traditionsbildung," 195-8; and Lehmann, "Die neue Lage," 18-21.
[173] At certain times however, nationalism was stronger than the conviction that all converted Christian belonged together. See Gäbler, *'Auferstehungszeit',* 169-73.

religious tracts and booklets in order to reach broad segments of the "worldly" public.[174] Furthermore, facing the social problems industrialisation was causing, welfare endeavours were a crucial part of the social activism. Evangelicals founded orphanages, schools for children of the working class, hospitals, institutions caring for poor people, and also established social work for prisoners and care for disabled people. Despite the sincere care for the poor and needy, Evangelicals barely considered structural and political approaches to solve social problems, but remained focussed on individuals and specific groups.[175] Missionary work was a further form of the Evangelicals' activism. It combined welfare work with evangelical endeavours and targeted not the "name-Christians", but rather people who were untouched by the Christian message and were mostly living in the colonised world.[176] Besides Christian charity and compassion, a further motive was leading for both missionary work abroad and for welfare work at home; as the kingdom of God was coming soon, as many people as possible had to be reached out to with the gospel.[177]

Educational work was crucial to missionary work as well as to welfare work among the working class and the poor. Literacy was required to read the Bible individually. The Bible had a preeminent place in the life of evangelical Christians. On the one hand it was considered as "divinely inspired final authority in matters of faith and practice."[178] Due to this importance of the Bible, all doctrinal statements must be founded in Scripture. Evangelists declined biblical criticism and were sceptical towards rationalist tendencies that considered human reason as the ultimate authority on truth.[179] On the other hand the Bible was also of crucial importance for the individual's relation with God. The independent reading of the Bible was regarded as a form of communication with God and, by delving in the "Word of God", evangelical Christians sought God's will for their personal vital questions.[180]

The Sudan-Pionier Mission, the Egypt General Mission and the English Mission College all derived from revivalist movements. The missionaries as well as a majority of missionary

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[174] Gäbler, "Evangelikalismus und Réveil,"31-3.
[175] Götzelmann, "Die Soziale Frage," 272-303; Gäbler, "Evangelikalismus und Réveil," 30-4; and Ohlemacher, "Evangelikalismus und Heiligungsbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert," 80-1.
[176] Robert, *Christian Mission,* 60-4; and Lehmann, "Die neue Lage," 8-10. Albert Wirz considers the missionary societies also as a reaction of the Evangelicals towards the social and religious developments in Europe: The missionary societies were also an answer to industrialisation and secularisation. Many missionaries were among the critics -or losers- of modernity. In particular they tended to be critical or overtly hostile with regard to modern industrial culture. Overseas, however, they were modernisers, albeit with a tendency (typical for their age) to regard certain traditions as unchangeable. See Wirz, "Transculturation," 6.
[177] Gäbler, *'Auferstehungszeit',* 172-3.
[178] Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 7.
[179] Gäbler, *'Auferstehungszeit',* 163-4.
[180] Jakubowski-Tiessen, "Eigenkultur und Traditionsbildung," 201-3; and Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 7-9.

friends would have stressed the importance of the individual conversion and of the Bible as ultimate guideline for their faith. All three societies were interdenominational missionary societies, accepting missionaries from all Protestant churches, who shared the same principles of faith.[181] The Sudan-Pionier Mission and the Egypt General Mission furthermore display characteristics of faith missions. Faith missions considered the missionaries not as employees, but as members of the mission.[182] They stressed the importance of faith in God in securing the funding of their mission, with the consequence that no regular salary could be guaranteed.[183] Furthermore, the stress upon "faith" implied a criticism of the increasingly bureaucratic structures of established missionary societies, and also expressed the priority of evangelism over institutionalised welfare work.[184]

The German Sudan-Pionier Mission

The Sudan-Pionier Mission was not planned as a missionary society focusing its work on Egypt. When the German missionary Karl Kumm, together with his future wife Lucy Guinness and her father, the active promoter of mission and evangelist Henry Grattan Guinness, founded the Sudan-Pionier Mission in January 1900, they considered Aswan as the starting point for missionary campaigns to reach the Sudan Belt.[185] The Sudan Belt was the term for the geographical area between five and twelve degrees north of the equator and today ranges from Senegal in the west to Ethiopia in the east.[186] The founders of the Sudan-Pionier Mission considered the defeat of the Mahdist revolt in the Sudan by Anglo-Egyptian troupes in 1899 as an opportunity to reach Khartoum set out on the Nile or on the newly constructed train line.

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[181] The English Mission College for instance required their missionaries to share the following spiritual basis: "The Missionary members of the staff are united in accepting the Bible as the inspired Word of God and as their rule of guidance in matters of faith and conduct. They would naturally be expected to have a living experience of, and faith in, the Lord Jesus Christ as personal Saviour and Lord, and a keen desire to lead others to Him also. They need to be called and sent forth by the Master to labour in this particular sphere, believing that work in a school can be work for the Lord as much as more directly evangelistic activities. It is recognised that witness and service for Christ are only likely to be fruitful if undertaken at the bidding and under continuous direction of the Holy Spirit." See English Mission College, Cairo: Principles and Practice. 17.05.1950, AEDE, Bundle 49a.

[182] A typology of different kinds of missionary societies and a detailed characterisation of the faith mission, see Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen,* 9-102.

[183] The Egypt General Mission paid a fix allowance to Egyptian missionary workers, while the foreign missionaries were working on the "faith" basis and received what was available after all expenses had been met. Therefore, they did not always receive a full salary. See Whitehouse, *Do you Remember… ?*, 17-8.

[184] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 46-8; and Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700,* 183-4.

[185] Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 6; and Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt*, 134-5.

[186] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt*, 48-9.

From Khartoum they intended to proceed westwards to Kordofan, Darfur and the Lake Chad.[187]

The considered missionary methods as compromising of four areas in the beginning of the work, namely working on the translation of the Bible and religious books to Sudanese languages (there were around hundred languages), the establishment of schools for children and adults, evangelism and finally also colportage of Bibles and religious tracts. Additionally, the missionaries intended to supplement their work with a medical mission led by a doctor. A boys' and girls' school was established in the first few month of the work in Aswan and around 150 children were taught. The teacher was a Copt and his wife, who was trained by the American Mission, taught the girls.[188] Moreover, the missionaries immediately started Bible colportage activities in the area around Aswan and especially targeted Nubians and the semi-nomadic living Bisharin. This colportage work was associated with language studies, as the Nubians as well as the Bisharin spoke indigenous languages.[189] The linguistic work, particularly with regard to Nubian languages, was conducted with a genuine interest for several years. Not only was the Nubian missionary Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn involved in this work, but also scholars from German Universities.[190]

Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn, a Nubian with a transnational biography worth a study on its own, was hired as an indigenous evangelist and Bible colporteur only one month after the foundation of the mission. Grattan Guinness used to be Samuel's college teacher in London, where the Nubian had lived for a while. Guinness encountered him as clerk working in the post office in Shellal. They immediately recognised each other and Guinness asked his former student, if he would like to work as missionary and Samuel happily accepted.[191] Samuel, born as Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥusayn in the Nubian region of Abu Hoor, lived his late childhood with relatives in Cairo. A Swiss missionary offered him schooling abroad and the Nubian boy followed him. Samuel spent five years in a boarding school in Peseux near Neuchâtel, where he converted to Christianity, was baptised and took the name Samuel. When he was sixteen he travelled to Great Britain and entered the Cliff College, a Bible college and training institute for missionaries. In the villages and cities in Great Britain he gained his first experiences as missionary and preacher. After his graduation he was sent to Lebanon, and there received training in medicine and was active as missionary for the American Mission. He later returned

[187] "Der Sudan," 4.
[188] "Der Sudan," 7; and Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt*, 289-90.
[189] "Tagesanbruch in Nubien?," 9-20; and Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,*
[190] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 287-9; and Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 62-4.
[191] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 139-40.

to Egypt and married in his home village, spending the following years mainly in Nubia, where he eventually encountered Guinness again. Samuel is portrayed as a valuable and capable missionary in the booklets telling the story of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, but his tensions with a German missionary and with his Nubian relatives are also mentioned.[192]

Lucy and Karl Kumm and Grattan Guinness started searching for a home base after the mission in Upper Egypt was established. This was quite unusual in missionary circles, since usually the home base was founded first. They were convinced that the home base should be in Germany, since they believed a German mission would be more appealing to the people in Sudan than a British one after the forceful reestablishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. After a few months of searching, the Lutheran Pastor Julius Dammann helped to set up the office of the Sudan-Pionier Mission in Eisenach.[193] The first few years proved to be very troublesome for the young missionary society and it was restructured in 1904.

Three years later, the home base was moved to Wiesbaden, where Theodor Ziemendorff, the chairman of the mission, was living. Ziemendorff was a revivalist Lutheran Pastor and an experienced manager of missionary affairs. He had already established a helpers union for the Basler Mission, was active in the welfare work in his city and trained single women for Christian work.[194] Furthermore, the women's union of the Sudan-Pionier Mission had previously been based in Wiesbaden. Several members of this board came from German nobility as were some of the female missionaries, such as Princess Anna Luise zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen or Getrud von Massenbach, who were working for the mission in Upper Egypt.[195]

The declared objective of the mission was expressed in the principles and practice of 1908 as follows:

„Die Sudan-Pionier-Mission steht im Dienste des Heilandes Jesu Christi, dessen letzter Befehl an seine Jünger lautete: ‚Gehet hin in alle Welt und predigt das Evangelium aller Kreatur.' Ihr Ziel und ihre Aufgabe ist die Ausbreitung des Evangeliums von Jesus Christus, dem Sohn Gottes, unter den Mohammedanern, Heiden und eingeborenen Christen in den Ländern des oberen Nil und des Sudan."[196]

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[192] On the life of Samuel and his work for the Sudan-Pionier Mission, see Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 5-12; Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder*, 28-33; Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin,* 8-11; Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission,* 6-19; and Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 146-52 and 160-1. Furthermore, Samuel wrote an autobiography that was translated to German and published by the Sudan-Pionier Mission in 1920 and in 1944 a volume with recollection of Samuel were edited. See Hussein, *Aus meinem Leben;* and Unruh and Hussein, *Samuel Ali Hussein.*

[193] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 163-6 and 181-8.

[194] Mockert, "Die Arbeit der Sudan-Pionier-Mission in Ober-Ägypten," 2; Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 47-62; and Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 185-99

[195] "Vorstand des Frauenzweiges der Sudan-Pionier-Mission," 8.

[196] "The Sudan-Pionier Mission is in the service of the Redeemer Jesus Christ, whose last command to his disciples was: 'Go therefore to the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' The object and task of the Sudan-Pionier Mission is the spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, among the Muslims, heathens

The medical mission, the educational work among children and adults, as well as the linguistic and publishing work were methods for the promotion of the spread of an evangelical shaped Christian faith. The missionaries considered their major aim as obedience towards God, and in particular to the Great Commission.[197] Muslims were not seen as heathens, since they believed in God, but needed the redemption through Christ.[198] However, also native Christians were not considered as redeemed for the missionaries judged their religiosity as congealed, ritualistic and spiritually dead.[199] While the objective of spreading the Gospel remained crucial to the Sudan-Pionier Mission's self-understanding even half a century after the establishment of the work, the geographical focus was reconsidered during the first decade.[200] Due to organisational and political reasons (the British authority closed the Muslim part of Sudan for Christian missionaries following political considerations), the missionary work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission focused on Aswan, Nubian villages, Northern Sudan, certain towns in Upper Egypt, and later on Nubians in Cairo.[201]

The Sudan-Pionier Mission remained faithful to the missionary methods mentioned in the first issue of their journal, namely translation, education, evangelism, colportage and medical work. Until World War I Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn worked on Nubian translations of the Gospel and this linguistic work was continued by Getrud von Massenbach until 1939.[202] Medical work was established and led by the Swiss doctor Willi Fröhlich and a hospital was constructed to this purpose in Aswan. The hospital was built on the mission compound, where the main station of the field and the church was located. A mission house was built in Darau, where regularly outpatients were treated and evangelistic gatherings were held. Furthermore, female missionaries established a mission station with a girls' school in Edfu.[203] The last station prior to the War was established in the Nubian village Wadi Halfa south of Aswan and it was intended to be a first step towards the Sudan.[204]

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and the native Christians in the countries of the upper Nile and of the Sudan." *Grundsätze und Regeln der Sudan Pionier-Mission,* 5.

[197] "Der Sudan," 5-6; and Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 273.

[198] Enderlin, "Was ist der Islam?," 14-5.

[199] Enderlin, "Warum sind die orientalischen Christen ein Hindernis für die Mohammedanermission?," 38-43; Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien.* 3-4; and Merklin, "Vom Missionsfeld," 41.

[200] Emanuel Kellerhals from the Basler Mission emphasised that the validity of the principles and practise from 1908 were crucial for cooperation between the Basler Mission and the Sudan-Pionier Mission. However, he implied that he had no doubt that these principles were never abandoned. See Letter from Kellerhals, Emanuel to Alle Geschwister des ägyptischen Missionsfeldes ("all brothers and sisters in the Egyptian missionary field"), Basel, 17. November 1937, EMO Archives, Red Folder: Korrespondenz 1937-1959, A I Feld Ägypten.

[201] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 320-4; and Mockert, "Die Arbeit der Sudan-Pionier-Mission in Ober-Ägypten," 2-3.

[202] Lauche, "Sitte Masmas - The Life and Work of Gertrud von Massenbach (1883-1975)," 7-13.

[203] Ziemendorff, "Das neue Missionshaus in Edfu," 47-9.

[204] Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 65-6.

The outbreak of the First World War brought the missionary work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission to a halt.[205] The German missionaries were expelled (though Dr. Fröhlich managed to stay until 1915). Fröhlich also worked for a while for the hospital of the Church Missionary Society in Cairo before he was expelled.[206] Samuel remained the only missionary, who held his position in Aswan, took care of the mission's facilities and translated most of the New Testament into Nubian. During this time the Sudan-Pionier Mission's Swiss helpers unions were providing the finances.[207] The first German missionaries returned to Egypt in 1923. Jakob Enderlin, who served for the Sudan-Pionier Mission from 1904 to 1939, was able to travel to Aswan and met Samuel. However, he experienced his stay in Aswan as rather difficult:

„Viel Wehmut und viel Schweres bargen die Tage in Assuan. Daß Enderlin ausßerhalb des Missionshauses wohnen mußte, ließ sich tragen; daß sie täglich von ägyptischen Beamten im Auftrag der Engländer polizeilich kontrolliert und schikaniert wurden, war nicht leicht; schwerer war es, nur dort zu sein, um das Eigentum der Missionsleute zu verpacken oder zu versteigern; doch am schmerzlichsten war, dass kurz vor ihrer Abreise amerikanische Missionsleute eintrafen, um alles zu besichtigen, abzuschätzen und in Enderlins Gegenwart Zukunftspläne zu entwickeln, wie sie alles machen würden, wenn sie erst hier schalten und walten würden."[208]

This incident exemplifies that, on the one hand, the German missionaries could only operate their institutions within the framework set by British and Egyptian authorities, and on the other, that relations between Protestant missionary societies were not always friendly. Already at the beginning of the Sudan-Pionier Mission's work, their activities were considered as competition by the American Mission, although the Presbyterians had no station in the region around Aswan. The German mission made a comity agreement to focus their work on Nubians and Bisharin (a focus that was soon extended), while the American Mission concentrated their activities among Copts and Arabic speaking Muslims. Paradoxically the Sudan-Pionier Mission's relations with the Roman Catholic mission in Aswan was perceived as amiable.[209]

In this situation of competition, but also during the time prior to the First World War, nationalist statements appear in the context of the missionary work. The Germanness of the Mission

[205] Since Germany was in war with Britain, Germans in Egypt were considered as enemies of the Empire and were expelled. See Fueß, *Die deutsche Gemeinde in Ägypten von 1919 - 1939*, 51-5.
[206] Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 10-1.
[207] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 304.
[208] „The day in Aswan involved much wistfulness and much hardship. Enderlin had to stay outside the mission house, which was bearable. Everyday they were policed and harassed by Egyptian officers acting in behalf of the British authorities, which was not easy. However more difficult was, to be only present there, in order to pack and auction the belongings of the missionaries. But most painful was the arrival of American missionary shortly prior to their departure, who inspected and discussed everything. In the presence of Enderlin, they developed plans for the future, what they intended to do with the place and how they would manage it."[208] See Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin,* 55.
[209] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 297-302.

was highlighted, despite the fact that Swiss missionaries also worked for the mission and Swiss missionary friends contributed considerable funding.[210] In this context, the missionaries also proudly mentioned that Egyptians and Nubians in Upper Egypt filled a petition in favour of the Sudan-Pionier Mission during the War and in the early 1920s. They asked the government to allow the missionaries of the Sudan-Pionier Mission to return to their stations and continue their work.[211] Remarkably, I did not find such nationalist statements after the late 1920s, despite the developments in Germany.

The American missionary Samuel Zwemer together with Temple Gairdner from the Church Missionary Society, both very influential missionaries in Egypt, campaigned for the Sudan-Pionier Mission and in 1924 the work could be re-established.[212] Furthermore, the Sudan-Pionier Mission became a member of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council. The time between the mid-1920s and the outbreak of the Second World War was its most active period. The Sudan-Pionier Mission also changed its name for the first time in 1928 to "Evangelische Muhammedaner-Mission Wiesbaden" in order to broaden the geographical scope.[213] Besides the indigenous workers, around twenty German or Swiss missionaries were working in three, and later four, stations.[214] However, the girls' school in Edfu was not re-established and school work in general was abandoned as the missionaries considered the government requirements as too high for their capabilities. However, Sunday school and needle work lessons continued to be provided in Aswan and in Darau.[215] Needle work, visits to homes, and scripture lessons for women are often referred to as "women's work". The medical work in the hospital in Aswan remained crucial, but the continuing medical mission and the treatment of outpatients in the stations in Darau, Koshtamne, and later in Gerf Hussein were also part of the health activities. Enderlin opened a club for Nubians in Cairo in order to reach them evangelistically.

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[210] Schaefer, "Unsere Kaisergeburtstagsfeier und Hospitaleinweihung am 27. Januar 1913," 20-1; Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 76-81; and Enderlin, "Unsere Mission im Zeichen des Weltkriegs," 77-8 (highlighting the possibilities of the German mission, however without devaluing the missionary work of other countries).

[211] Held, "Jahresbericht der Sudan-Pionier-Mission 1915," 39; and Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 78-9.

[212] Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission*, 22.

[213] The missionaries intended to establish a medical mission in Kurdistan with a German doctor, who was already active in this region. This project however was soon given up, since the doctor received a job with a train company. Also the periodical printed for the friends and supporters of the Sudan-Pionier Mission changed its name from "Der Sudan-Pionier" to "Der Pionier". See Held, "Ein großer Entschluß," 125-8; and Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission*, 31.

[214] Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission*, 52-4.

[215] Schaefer, "Jahresbericht der Sudan-Pionier-Mission für das Jahr 1927," 53; and Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 304.

evangelistic gatherings, Bible lessons and the distribution of the Scripture and religious tracts were essential for the work.[216]

During the Second World War all Sudan-Pionier Missionaries were again expelled. The former Swiss helpers union of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, after the mid-1930s an independent missionary society, shared -together with the Basler Mission- the responsibility for the funding and management of the mission during this time.[217] The Swiss missionaries also managed to receive permission from the Egyptian government to reopen the stations in Aswan and Darau in 1948 and Germany missionaries were sent from the home base in Wiesbaden joined them soon.[218] In 1954 the mission changed its name to "Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten", since "Muhammedaner Mission" was never used as regular name in Egypt.[219] Unlike the British and the French missionaries, the Sudan-Pionier Mission was not affected by the Suez crisis and the missionaries were able to continue with their work.

The British Egypt General Mission

Unlike the Sudan-Pionier Mission, the Egypt General Mission intended explicitly to work in Egypt. Annie Van Sommer was the visionary for the Egypt General Mission, since she expressed the idea of a mission working particularly in the villages and cities of the Delta.[220] In 1896, Van Sommer served as a missionary among British soldiers and then became aware of the poverty, illiteracy and oppression of the people living in the rural area. She especially realised that these people "were entirely unreached with the Gospel, and had no likelihood of hearing of the Saviour".[221] The historians of the Egypt General Mission portray the birth of their missionary society as a meeting of two independently formulated prayer requests: Annie Van Sommer's prayers "that He would thrust forth more labourers into His vineyard"[222] in Egypt, and those of seven young men, who signed their names on the following pledge: "Lord, I am at Thy disposal for Foreign Missionary work as soon and wherever Thou callest

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[216] Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin,* 62-75.
[217] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 304; and Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission*, 48-52.
[218] Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission*, 17 and 36-42; and Unruh, "Vom Missionsfeld," 2-7.
[219] Bars, "Siehe zu, daß du einen guten Namen behältst!," 1. For the sake of convenience, I will consequently refer to the Sudan-Pionier Mission in this work, also in the period after 1928, when the mission officially changed its name.
[220] Annie Van Sommer was also the visionary and together with Arthur Upson initiator of the Nile Mission Press that was founded in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Nile Mission Press was an important publishing house for Scriptures, evangelistic tracts and booklets in Arabic and in various other languages. See Upson, *The Unfolding of a Vision,* 1-7.
[221] Naish, *Wonders in Egypt,* 7.
[222] Naish, *Wonders in Egypt,* 7.

me."[223] However, at the time of these prayers, Annie Van Sommer was still in Egypt, while the future missionaries were living in Belfast.

The young men who formed the initial missionaries of the *Egypt Mission Band* (renamed as "Egypt General Mission" in 1903), came from different parts of Great Britain and belonged to various Protestant denominations.[224] The social background of the founding members is not entirely known. The professions of some of the band members however (there was an electrical engineer, a law student, a "well-known and rising" football player) indicate that they belonged to the educated middle class. The framework of the activities of the *Young Men's Christian Association* (YMCA) and the meetings at the house of a Methodist minister were crucial for the young men to gather and to develop their shared desire for missionary work.[225]

Revivalist missionaries usually put great emphasis on how the vision for their missionary society had been developed and how the establishment of the work took place. This emphasis can be understood in the context that in the self-understanding of the missionaries, they did not intend to implement their plans but were rather instruments in realising divine will. Constant prayers and study of the Bible were thereby crucial in order to become conscious of God's will and to receive reassurance to follow the right path.[226] Also in the historiography of the Egypt General Mission, Scripture and prayers played a crucial role:

"Immediately this meeting [where they signed the pledge to be at God's disposal for missionary work] the Holy Spirit began to gradually evolve His plan, but it was not until the month of April that He revealed His purpose of sending out a band of seven to work together. One after another the Holy Spirit separated six of them, dealing with each individually, and without any collusion on their part, bringing their hearts into line with His will and with each other. (…) After two months of constant prayer and waiting on God for guidance, four of them were led to visit the Students' Conference at Curbar. Here they met Miss Annie Van Sommer, who had come to the gathering after definite prayer for Egypt. Before that Conference ended these friends were brought together by the Holy Spirit for the extension of The Master's Kingdom in Egypt."[227]

Annie Van Sommer was praying for a scriptural confirmation before she told the young men about her vision. The future missionaries on their part received reassurance to go to Egypt by consulting the Bible and finding this country on every page they opened.[228]

The "band of seven" started their missionary work in Egypt in 1898. None of them had a specific formation to serve as missionary or was prepared for life in Egypt. Therefore the learning of Arabic during the period after their arrival was crucial. However, during this time the

[223] *Egypt General Mission: Its Origin and Work*, 4.
[224] *Egypt General Mission: Its Origin and Work*, 4; and Swan, *Lacked ye anything?,* 19.
[225] Swan, *Lacked ye anything?,* 7-12.
[226] Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen,* 420-4.
[227] *Egypt General Mission: Its Origin and Work*, 4-6.
[228] Naish, *Wonders in Egypt,* 8; and Swan, *Lacked ye anything?,* 44.

missionaries also developed considerable activities. They managed to publish an Arabic magazine with evangelistic content called *Bashāʾir al-Salām* that was written by native Arabic Christians. They additionally organised regular evangelistic gatherings, established three schools and two religious bookshops.[229] By 1913, the original "band of seven" grew to 33 Europeans, among them 23 female missionaries, and additionally 25 indigenous workers. The field headquarter of the Egypt General Mission was established in Ezbet el-Zeitoun, near Cairo, but the main activities took place in the Delta regions that were largely Muslim and where Christians were an even smaller minority than in Upper Egypt. The work of the Egypt General Mission was also explicitly focussed on Muslims. For instance, the station in Suez with its "book depôt" aimed to reach pilgrims to Mecca.[230] The missionaries established schools (three for boys and three for girls), they organised regular Sunday services, Sunday schools and evangelistic meetings, and also provided medical services. Dispensaries treated outpatients and the hospital in Shebin el-Kanater, where already in 1913 a male and a female doctor were serving, became a regional centre for the missionary work.[231]

The main objective of the mission, from the beginning until 1956, when the foreign missionaries of the Egypt General Mission were expelled, was evangelisation, in particular of Muslims:

"The object of the Mission is to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Egypt, and to make known the love of God in that country by teaching, healing and example. In pursuance of this object the Mission will not establish any new church organisation, but will cordially cooperate with the existing evangelical churches in the land."[232]

The "preaching of the Gospel" was practiced by various means. Sunday school for children, regular evangelistic meetings in the facilities of the missionaries, preaching in public spaces such as markets (rather in the beginning of the missionary work), home visits and, prior to the First World War, also the tent mission was practiced.[233] Evangelistic endeavours also pervad-

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[229] Logan, "Field Treasurer's Account," 44-5. On the Arabic magazine, see Cleaver, "Bashair es Salâm," 126-9. The available issues from *Bashāʾir al-Salām*, found in the archives of the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Cairo are from the year 1912 and 1929-1934. The magazine primarily discusses religious issues, such as renarration and explanation of biblical stories (e.g. " Dāwūd wa-al-Miqlāʿ," 193-6), articles on theological topics such as the Judgment Day (e.g. "Muḥākamāt al-Masīḥ," 122-6), or on famous theologians (e.g. "Karl Barth: Martin Luther jadīd," 129-31). In contrast, the women's section of *Bashāʾir al-Salām*, called *Miṣbāḥ al-Ḥayāt* and starting being published in the late 1920s, also compromised topics concerning household, health and child rearing additionally to the religious subjects. On gender and health, see Chapter 3.2.2.

[230] Logan, "Suez," 17-20; and Naish, *Wonders in Egypt*, 11.

[231] Egypt General Mission: A Brief Account of the Work of the Mission. London, June 1913, YDL, Egypt General Mission Papers, Fy Eg9p.

[232] MECO Archives, Tunbridge Wells, EGM Minute Book January 1945 to November 1956, Egypt General Mission Constitution, p. 974. Already in the first EGM booklet, printed in 1902, the object was defined very similar: "Object. – This is to assist in the evangelisation of Egypt and the Soudan, and their Jewish and European communities, by such methods as the Lord may direct." See *Egypt General Mission: Its Origin and Work,* 24.

[233] Cleaver, *The Tent Mission, Cairo.*

ed the welfare activities of the Egypt General Mission. In the missionary schools, the day started with morning devotions and furthermore all students had to attend Scripture classes. In the medical work, an evangelist or a Bible woman preached to the waiting patients and their relatives. Furthermore daily services were held in the hospital wards and those patients considered to be receptive for the Christian faith were marked as "star" cases. When these "stars" returned to their villages, the missionaries tried to keep in touch with them and visited them.[234]

However, the evangelistic endeavours, particularly preaching in public and the selling of religious tracts and booklets, bore the potential for tensions with Muslims. Already in the first years of their work, the Egypt General Missionaries provoked an angry reaction (the people threw stones at them and reported their activities to the police) when they distributed a tract comparing Jesus with Muḥammad. The incident was eventually reported to Lord Cromer and the missionaries were admonished not to offend Muslims by any means, since such excitements endangered the public order and could damage the colonial rule.[235] Major outbreaks of angry reactions occurred in the early 1930s during the anti-missionary agitations and in the time previous to and after the revolution of 1952. However, the missionaries found a method for public evangelisation that did not provoke angry reactions and was this was practiced until in the 1950s; an Egyptian evangelist went to funerals of people they knew, and when they publicly expressed their sympathy, they also addressed topics of the Christian faith.[236]

The Egypt General Mission was largely financed by donations. In their magazine the receipts of donations were regularly listed and the balance was published once a year. People interested in the work of the Egypt General Mission formed prayer circles in order to share news and concerns of the missionaries: they then prayed for them and supported them financially.[237] Such prayer circles were, according to the missionaries, scattered all over the world. Furthermore, there were regional auxiliary councils organising information meetings for the mission and helping to provide funding.[238] The increasing interest in the work of the Egypt General Mission outside Great Britain had the effect that the staff became more international, as Evangelicals from Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Estonia started working as missionar-

[234] Hetherington, *A Run Round the Stations*, 7-8.
[235] Swan, *Lacked ye anything?,* 21-5. The tract was understood as polemic against Islam, although the Missionaries claim that it was fair and nothing but a comparison.
[236] Whitehouse, *Do you Remember… ?*, 16-7; and Raʾfat ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 24.05.2009 (transcript l. 136-148). Raʾfat ʿAbd al-Masīḥ worked as evangelist for the Egypt General Mission during his studies at the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Cairo. However his evangelistic activities mainly focused on Christians and in preaching in Evangelical congregations.
[237] *Egypt General Mission: Its Origin and Work*, 31-3.
[238] "Overseas," 32; Whitehouse, *The Complete Circle*, 72-3; and Naish, *Wonders in Egypt,* 26-7.

ies.[239] This internationalisation of the staff brought new approaches to the work and different notions of organisational hierarchy. As a former Australian missionary recalls:

"Going back to the matter of the gap which existed to a certain extent between junior and senior missionaries, I remember at that time - in the thirties - there was also a distinct gap between the missionaries and national (paid) workers, particularly servants, cleaners, doorkeepers and so forth. (…) This always upset me quite a bit having come from an egalitarian Australian society, as did the fact that when I happened to pass a group of 'natives' sitting on a bench, they would stand up as I came along."[240]

After the First World War, the Egypt General Mission was still growing, but not as fast as previous to the War.[241] Still, in 1948 over 50 foreign missionaries were working for the Egypt General Mission in Egypt and they operated five girls' schools (two of them boarding schools), a boys' day school and boarding school, a hospital with four doctors, three dispensaries that provided medical care for minor illnesses, a scripture distribution centre, various kinds of evangelistic work such as work among students and women, a so-called "Farm Colony Centre" and a converts' home.[242] The "Farm Colony Centre" as well as the converts' home can be considered as innovations within the missionary context of Egypt and both were focusing on converts and potential converts.[243] With the "Farm Colony Centre" the missionaries intended to provide converts in the rural area with the opportunity to continue to work on their job, acquire further vocational training and receive regular Bible training.[244] During 1956 the work of the Egypt General Mission grew increasingly restricted by the government, starting with the closure of two schools on legal grounds and the deportation of its teachers (more in Chapter 2.2.2). Furthermore, due to the Suez Crisis, the visas of British doctors were not extended and they had to leave the country. Only a few non-British missionaries were able to remain in Egypt and continued operating a clinic in Upper Egypt for a while. The mission property was sold (partially to Egyptian Evangelicals) or requisitioned by the government.[245]

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[239] Farrow and Wühner, "Our New Workers," 4-6"; and Editorial Notes," 3 (these editorial notes were written after the Egypt General Mission stopped its work in Egypt, but the mentioned missionaries previously worked in Egypt.).
[240] Whitehouse, *Do you Remember… ?*, 14.
[241] Naish, *Wonders in Egypt,* 18-21.
[242] "Stations and Missionaries, December 1948," 131.
[243] The Converts house in Matria and later in Ezbet el-Zeitoun was rather focusing on women and also regular converts conferences were organised there. See Blaikie, "Mataria School," 80-2; King, "Zeitoun," 34; and Hetherington, *A Run Round the Stations,* 13-5.
[244] Whitehouse and Whitehouse, "The Farm Colony Bible School," 11-3; and Whitehouse, *Do you Remember… ?*, 35.
[245] Minutes of the Meeting of the Field Council of the Egypt General Mission. Zeitoun, 8th and 9th October 1956; Minutes of Meeting of Home Council of Egypt General Mission. London, 23rd October 1956, MECO Archives; Leal, M. "Herz is still on the Map!," 23-6; and "On Furlough from Egypt! An Interview by Post," 26-7.

1.3 Egyptian Government, Imperialism, and Christian Mission

In the Egypt of the late 1920s and early 1930s an outburst of anti-missionary sentiments and activism occurred. The major newspapers wrote and investigated, during some periods even daily, on the activities of European and American missionaries. The following excerpt of an open letter to the editor printed in the newspaper *Kawkab al-Sharq* provides an exemplary insight into the accusations:

أن التبشير لا يكون إلا في بلد همجي يضرب الجهل أوتاده في أراضيهم، ويدينون بدين الوثنية، فاكتساب المبشر لبضع أناس من هؤلاء غنم للحضارة والمدنية الحديثة ولكن لا أفهم أن يكون التبشير في مصر في بلد موحد يدين بدين من عند الله (...).

والحقيقة الظاهرة (...) هو أن التبشير سلاح قديم من أسلحة الاستعمار البالية التي أراد يجربها في بلد كمصر لانه يريد بها شراً مستطيراً.

ان المبشرين جنود الاستعمار وتعابينه (sic) ينفثون السموم هنا وهنا (...).[246]

For the author, the only reasonable explanation for the missionaries' presence in Egypt is that they are tools of the colonial power. Egypt had formally been independent since 1922, but the British Empire still reserved certain areas to interfere with the Egyptian politics.[247] By using a martial vocabulary to characterise the missionaries he implies that such Christian agencies threatens, occupies and creates disunity within the population, and consequently the Egyptian nation will be weakened, if it conforms to the interest of the Empire.

The relation between Christian mission and imperialism was not only a hot topic during the anti-missionary agitations in the early 1930s, but it is still a widely debated and studied topic among scholars studying imperial relations and missionary history.[248] Certain scholars thereby criticise the missionary endeavours, though not with the exact same words yet along the same lines as the quoted Egyptian nationalists did in the 1930s; they consider mission as part of the imperial project. Although most scholars would acknowledge that Christian missionaries usually were not a tool of the political powers –often they opposed colonial authorities and defended the rights of the converts even against imperial interests- they still see a close relation between mission and empire.[249]

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[246] "The missionaries should only be in barbaric countries where ignorance hammers down its stakes in the ground and where they worship idolism. For these people the missionaries are useful to spread culture and modern civilisation, but I do not understand, why the mission is in Egypt, a country where only one God is worshipped (…). And the obvious truth is, (…) that the mission is an old weapon of colonialism, which is under practice in Egypt to cause trouble and turmoil. Missionaries are soldiers of colonialism und they are its serpents which squirt poison here and there (…)." The author also stressed that he was "Christian, who loves Christianity and Islam". See Fiktūr, "Khiṭāb maftūḥ ilā al-duktūr Ṭāhā Ḥusayn," 7.

[247] Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt*, 72.

[248] Some titles that discuss the problematic "mission and empire" and provide insights into the controversial positions as well as references to further readings, see Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700,* 4-21; Stuart, "Mission and Empire," 1-5; and Robert, *Christian Mission,* 87-96.

[249] Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, 71-2. Highlighting the complex relations between missionaries, imperial power and colonised societies, see Thorne, "Religion and Empire at Home," 144-7.

An influential position was developed by the anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff, who argue, using anthropological and historical analysis of the early missionaries among the Tswana in Botswana, that mission was a form of cultural imperialism manifested in a "colonisation of consciousness". They consider the missionary institutions, the medical work, churches, schools, and the like, as agencies that deeply impacted and transformed the daily life, family system, economic ethos, morality, and world view.[250] However, the notion of "cultural imperialism" is also problematic and it had been convincingly challenged as an analytical concept to understand cultural encounters or interactions within a missionary context. Ryan Dunch for instance detects two chief defects in the concept of "cultural imperialism": "it is inseparable from essentialising discourses of national or cultural authenticity; and it reduces complex interactions to a dichotomy between actor and acted upon, leaving too little place for the agency of the latter."[251]

This chapter aims to provide an insight into the complex relations between the Egyptian government, nationalist groups and political parties, Egyptian religious authorities, missionary societies, foreign embassies, and the British residency. I consider the anti-missionary agitations as a test case that displays (political) power relations in Egypt, with particular regard to the possibilities and actual spheres of influence of the Protestant missions. The study of the anti-missionary movements shed light on the quality of the relations between Protestant mission and Empire on the political level.[252] In a first step, the efforts made by the Egyptian nationalists and religiously motivated groups in their struggle against the missionaries will be outlined. In a second, the missionaries' reactions to the public pressure will be examined, and finally the short- and long-term consequences following this anti-missionary activism will be discussed.

The Anti-Missionary Agitations

Although Catholic and Protestant missionary institutions generally enjoyed a good reputation, and also many families of the Egyptian elite sent their children to missionary schools, the missionaries repeatedly faced opposition. Members from the Coptic clergy as well as Islamic reformers publicly criticised the missionaries' active promotion of their kind of Christianity

[250] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, vol. 1,* 24-32; and Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, vol. 2,* 16-29 and 320-2.
[251] Dunch, Ryan. "Beyond Cultural Imperialism," 3. Further criticism on the fruitfulness of "cultural imperialism" in the context of missionary history, see Porter, "Imperialism, Altruism, and Missionary Enterprise," 367-88; Porter, "Imperialism, Altruism, and Missionary Enterprise," 7-13; and Robert, *Christian Mission,* 93-6.
[252] The question of "cultural imperialism" or the "colonisation of the mind" will be discussed in the chapter on education.

by various means.[253] Moreover, missionaries occasionally experienced resistance from the target population itself, for instance when they were chased away from certain neighbourhoods by stone throwing residents, or when people in their gatherings protested and refused to listen.[254] Unrest caused by missionaries who distributed controversial tracts or aimed to establish evangelistic gatherings in new neighbourhoods, might result in the involvement of the local police. In rare cases, the missionaries had to explain their actions to the British authorities.[255]

Still, there was never such activism of comparable broadness and fierceness as that of the anti-missionary agitations in the late 1920s and early 1930s. This campaign was triggered by a number of incidents involving missionaries that had received wide publicity at the time.[256] In order to provide an insight into the causes of this publicly expressed outrage, two cases which met with wide public attention and indignation will be briefly outlined. In addition to these incidents, the political circumstances and developments during the first decade of Egypt's formal independence are crucial for the understanding of these agitations.

In 1928 Samuel Zwemer, a well-known American missionary and a committed evangelist among Muslims, caused an uproar among a large number of students and teachers of the Azhar University. While visiting this spiritual and scholarly centre of Islam, Zwemer sought out contact with students and distributed controversial Christian tracts within the courtyard of Azhar. The American missionary previously had visited the Azhar and had discussed questions of faith with Muslim students and professors. At that time he also distributed Christian tracts, but had never faced such angry reactions. After this incident, a group of 'Ulamā' presented a petition of protest to the government and the newspapers took up on their outrage.[257]

In a further case which heated the anti-missionary activism, a Muslim girl and a missionary school in Port Said stood in the centre of public attention. Turkiyya Ḥasan was a fifteen year old girl and student in the Swedish Salaam School, a nondenominational Protestant institution

[253] Herrera, "'The Soul of a Nation'," 286-92. Rashīd Riḍā for instance initially highly estimated missionary schools, in particular American schools since they were not associated with a colonial power, but later sharply criticised evangelistic endeavours and religious teaching in these schools. See Ryad, *Islamic Reformism and Christianity,* 137-48.The Coptic Church even prosecuted Coptic converts to Protestantism in the mid-nineteenth century. See Ibrahim, Vivian. *The Copts of Egypt,* 31-3.

[254] Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin,* 36-7; and Hahn, Christine: Tagebuch 1937-1939. EMO Archives, diary entry 7.9.1937.

[255] In the early twentieth century the British authorities were rather sympathetic towards the missionary work, but they did not publicly encourage missionary work, since political stability was their main concern. However, missionaries still addressed the British authorities, if they considered articles in the Egyptian press as too critical towards their work. See Ryad, *Islamic Reformism and Christianity,* 134-7.

[256] Heather Sharkey reconstructs and analyses five cases which were crucial for the anti-missionary campaign. See Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 108-27.

[257] Sharkey, "Empire and Muslim Conversion," 47; Ryad, *Islamic Reformism and Christianity,* 286-9; and Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 108-15.

that was not a member of the *Egypt-Inter Mission Council*. On June 11, 1933 a physical fight between the girl and her Swiss teacher emerged and attracted the attention of the neighbours. In the police investigation, Turkiyya Ḥasan claimed that her teacher tried to convert her to Christianity by force, but that she had resisted. Her teacher however argued that she was punishing the girl for her misbehaviour.[258] The girl showed a letter from her headmistress in order to highlight the conversion pressure she was facing in her school. In this letter the girl was urged with messianic zeal to convert, in order to be saved on the judgment day. The Egyptian newspapers widely reported this case and they celebrated Turkiyya as a heroine for remaining Muslim.[259]

The press also took this case as clear evidence that missionaries were using criminal methods to convert Muslims to Christianity:

فان اعيتهم الحيلة عمدوا (...) إلى التخدير والتنويم فإذا لم يفدهم هذا عمدوا إلى الإرهاب والتعذيب حتى يصلوا إلى بغيتهم.[260]

Accusations of the use of such illegal methods, not only in schools but also in evangelistic gatherings and in charitable institutions, were widespread in the Egyptian newspapers during the anti-missionary agitations.[261] A writer in one newspaper explains that missionaries had to use such unfair trickery because no Muslim would choose freely to convert to Christianity.[262]

The self-confidence expressed in the claim to posses a superior religion to the Christianity of the missionaries stood in contrast to the humiliation Egyptian nationalists felt when faced with the imperial presence. Despite the formal independence, the British Empire still held considerable political and military power in Egypt and many Egyptians believed they enjoyed fewer rights than foreigners. In fact, capitulations still guaranteed foreigners from most of the European countries certain privileges in trade, and their civil and commercial cases were not tried by national tribunals but by Mixed Courts.[263] Furthermore, the British residency was not reluctant to use military threat to enforce their interests. Thereby certain political developments

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[258] Carter, "On Spreading the Gospel to Egyptians Sitting in Darkness," 24; and Ryad, "Muslim Response to Missionary Activities in Egypt," 291-2.
[259] Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 124-7.
[260] "And after if they are at their wit's end (…) they move on to ploys, they drug and hypnotise. If these ploys do not work, they go on to intimidation and torment until they reach their desired aim." See " Qarār hayʾat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ: Ijtimāʿhā al-yawm wa-qarārhā fī masʾalat al-tabshīr," 6.
[261] *Al-Balāgh* (25 June 1933), Quoted in: Resumé of some of the most important Articles on the subject of Missionary Work, AEDE, Box 92aII, Attacks on Missionaries, p. 3; "Taḥaqquq al-Balāgh fī ḥawādith al-tabshīr." 7 (marring a converted girls to a Christian without consent of her legal guardian, a case where the Egypt general mission was involved); Ḥusayn, "Ḥadīth al-masāʾ: Hazl," 6.
[262] Al-Marāghī, Muṣṭafā: "The Islam Defending Society begs H.M. the King to Defend the Religion of the Country from the Missionaries". *Al-Siyāsa* (28 June 1933). Quoted in: Resumé of some of the most important Articles on the subject of Missionary Work, AEDE, Box 92aII, Attacks on Missionaries, pp. 47-48. Targeting the weak people, such as poor, diseased people and children, since they are more likely to convert, see "Qarār hayʾat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ," 6.
[263] Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt*, 33-4.

within Egyptian domestic politics could also be considered as danger for the British interests. The high commissioner Lord Georg Lloyd, for example, called in a British gunboat to be stationed near Alexandria harbour to pressure Saʿd Zaghlūl into refusing to serve as prime minister after his party had won the 1926 elections.[264]

Besides the political presence of the British Empire that was experienced as humiliating, the anti-missionary agitations, with all the involved religious and xenophobic sentiments, aimed to criticise the weak Egyptian government. The influential intellectual Ṭāhā Ḥusayn for instance, wrote the following in the course of the anti-missionary movements:

أما الوزارة فانها تشفق مما طلبنا البها من العلاج الصحيح لمسألة التبشير ومن الدفاع الصحيح عن الدين والقومية والأخلاق، (...) لانها تشفق من الامتيازات ولانها تخاف ان سعت في فرض المراقبة على المدارس الاجنبية أن يتنكر لها الاجانب ويزرورا عليها وهي على رضى الاجانب حريصة والي عطف الاجانب محتاجة في حب الاجانب راغبة (...).[265]

Ḥusayn was writing this article in the newspaper *Kawkab al-Sharq*, a medium that usually articulated the opinion of the Wafd Party, a nationalist party founded by Saʿd Zaghlūl. Also other papers which articulated critiques of missionary endeavours belonged to a party or were closely related to a political party.[266] In the beginning of the 1930s, the King appointed Ismāʿīl Ṣidqī as prime minister, who dissolved the Wafd-dominated parliament, replaced the 1923 constitution and concentrated the power in his own hands.[267] The parties represented in the former parliaments and government however lacked a large political following. Although their leaders and the editors of their newspapers were not very religious or often even secular, they resorted to religion as a political tool in order to put pressure on the unpopular and undemocratic government. Consequently Ismāʿīl Ṣidqī was caught in a tricky situation, for defending the foreign missionaries would let him appear as disloyal to Islam and trigger even more criticism against his already unpopular government. But if he would take measures against the missionaries, then he was likely to face an intervention by the British residency and by foreign embassies protecting the interest of their citizens. Although the agitations did not bring down Ṣidqī's government, he had to step down in 1933 and attacks on missionaries in the press grew more sporadic.[268]

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[264] Saʿd Zaghlūl was an important nationalist leader, founder of the Wafd Party, education and justice minister before the First World War. See Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt*, 76-7 and 216.

[265] „As for the ministry, it fears what we requested in terms of correct remedy to the missionary issue and the adequate defence of religion, nationalism and morality (…). As it fears capitulation and it dreads that if it seeks to impose supervision for foreign schools, the foreigners would deny it and revolt. The ministry is keen on maintaining foreigners' satisfaction and sympathy, seeking their compassion." See Ḥusayn, "Ḥadīth al-masāʾ: Ḥazm," 6.

[266] An overview of the press during Egypt's constitutional era and the political orientation of the papers, see Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East,* 75-82.

[267] Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt*, 77.

[268] Carter, "On Spreading the Gospel to Egyptians Sitting in Darkness," 21-31.

However, also during the anti-missionary agitations it was not the institutions per se that were portrayed as problematic. The quality of their work even enjoyed a certain admiration.[269] Egyptian nationalists, and even Islamist organisations like the Muslim Brotherhood, were not against schools or modern education and neither against welfare institutions as hospitals or orphanages.[270] However, they were strictly opposed to Christian teaching and to their praying with Muslim children at schools and were also against the missionaries' evangelistic work. Therefore their admiration concerned the successfully working missionary institutions and was expressed in the demand that Muslims should build more hospitals, schools and orphanages, to protect themselves from the missionaries.[271] Seeing the missionaries as being very active among women, a writer suggests that Muslim religion should be taught in all girls' schools, and that Muslim girls should graduate as teachers of Islam.[272]

Besides these claims concerning long-term projects to fight against the religious influence of the missionaries, immediate measures were also demanded. The Muslim Brotherhood sent a petition to the King of Egypt to ask him to defend Islam by observing the foreign institutions carefully. Furthermore, they asked him not to support the missionary institutions by any means, as for instance by offering them land or supporting them financially. Eventually, they demanded to shut down any Christian school or hospital where preaching to Muslims happened.[273] The Azhar also reacted and issued a fatwā which was not only printed in newspapers but also on posters that were fixed on the walls of some missionary schools.[274] In this fatwā the issuer warned all Muslims against sending their children to missionary schools. Furthermore, they condemned all parents, who knew about the danger of the missionaries and still would send their children to Christian schools.[275]

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[269] "An Important Interview about Evangelism and Evangelists with the Great Lawyer Ibrahim Bey Helbawi". *Al-Siyāsa* (27 June 1933), quoted in: Resumé of some of the most important Articles on the subject of Missionary Work, AEDE, Box 92aII, Attacks on Missionaries, pp. 44-45; and "Our Responsibilities as Egyptians towards the Preaching Movement". *Al-Siyāsa* (26 June 1933), quoted in: Resumé of some of the most important Articles on the subject of Missionary Work, AEDE, Box 92aII, Attacks on Missionaries, p. 32.
[270] Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 28-30.
[271] "Masʾalat al-tabshīr," 6; and Al-Marāghī, "ʾIlā Jalālat al-Malik," 6.
[272] "A practical suggestion for Eradicating the Evil of Evangelism". *Al-Siyāsa* (12 July 1933), Quoted in: Resumé of some of the most important Articles on the subject of Missionary Work, AEDE, Box 92aII, Attacks on Missionaries, p. 59.
[273] "The Nations protest against the Missionaries' Behaviour&Actions". *Al-Jihād* (27 June 1933), Quoted in: Resumé of some of the most important Articles on the subject of Missionary Work, AEDE, Box 92aII, Attacks on Missionaries, p. 46; and see also Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 13.
[274] "Islam and Mission Work," 118-20.
[275] "Qarār hayʾat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ bi-al-Azhar al-Sharīf," 6.

Reactions of the Protestant Missionaries

Most missionaries were not politically minded individuals and reflections on the British imperialism and its effect on the life and feelings of Egyptians are scarcely found in the sources. British authorities were barely criticised, since their presence was rather considered as favourable framework for the missionary activities.[276] In the decades prior to the anti-missionary agitations, the Protestants were already confronted with articles opposing their work. In these cases, they asked the British residency to take measures against these journals, and they also asked the American embassy to support their cause. Usually the British authorities were not unsympathetic to the missionaries' pleas.[277] Also, during the anti-missionary campaign of the early 1930s, the missionary societies searched for help among the worldly authorities and mobilised their various connections in order to safeguard their work. A crucial player during the anti-missionary agitations was the *Egypt Inter-Mission Council*, an organisation representing the interests of various Protestant missionary societies. The Sudan-Pionier Mission, the Egypt General Mission and the English Mission College were members of this council.

The idea of establishing a permanent inter-missionary organisation had been considered by Protestant missionary societies from North America and Europe in 1919. The first general conference of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council was held on May 31, 1921 and seven missionary societies approved of the constitution of the new body.[278] The Inter-Mission Council was established in order to promote, harmonise and facilitate the already existing comity and co-operation between the missionary societies. Furthermore, it was intended to organise common events and campaigns such as evangelisations. Finally, the council assumed a central function when considering strategic discussions and political activities and therefore the organisation adopted the following task:

"The providing of a recognized medium between the missionary body in this country and (a) the local Government and (b) the intermission committees which have Government relationships in Europe and America."[279]

In order to accomplish the different tasks, two bodies were created: a Standing Committee and a General Conference. The Standing committee consisted of representatives of the missionary

[276] Rhodes, *The Anglican Church in Egypt 1936-1956 and its Relationship with British Imperialism,* 87; and Sharkey, "Empire and Muslim Conversion," 46-7. German missionaries noted that even Egyptians in Upper Egyptian towns were firmly opposed to the British rule. However, even the Germans preferred the imperial setting, since they feared an independent Egypt would found its laws on Islam and make missionary work impossible. See Enderlin, "Vom Arbeitsfelde," 30-1.

[277] Ryad, *Islamic Reformism and Christianity*, 137-9.

[278] Minutes of Egypt Inter-Mission Council. Cairo: Nile Mission Press, n. d. [1922], YDL, Records of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, MX48 Eg98 1921, pp. 2-4 and 18.

[279] Minutes of Egypt Inter-Mission Council. Cairo: Nile Mission Press, n. d. [1922], YDL, Records of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, MX48 Eg98 1921, p. 26.

societies, which gathered regularly for meetings. One of its sub-committee called "Mission and Government", was responsible for concerns and problems involving the authorities.[280] This sub-committee was very active during the time of the anti-missionary agitations. It translated and summarised the articles of the major Egyptian newspapers that addressed the missionary activities during this time and the sub-committee furthermore actively approached representatives of the Egyptian government, of foreign countries, as well as of the British Residency.[281]

The Egypt Inter-Mission Council drafted a policy for the "Foreign Missionary Societies", i.e. its members, on October 18, 1933. However, it was the Egyptian government's pressure on the missions resulting from the anti-missionary agitations rather than an awareness for the need to regulate their own work that let the Protestants formulate this declaration. They were convinced that "it should be recognised as certain that publicity would be given in Egypt to the document."[282] In the first article of the policy, the missionaries referred to the accusation brought up in the anti-missionary movement of using illegal methods in missionary work:

"Article I. The use of force to bring about conversion, abduction, the detention of minors or adults against their will, the offering of material inducements to bring about a change of religion, the use of narcotics or hypnotism, the corruption of mind or body, and the use of any kind of fraud, are utterly contrary to the teachings of our religion, and are as abhorrent to us as to those who have charged the missionary body with them. Our whole record, which is open to the Government and the people of Egypt, is evidence that we have not done these things, and any such action we should unreservedly repudiate adherence."[283]

Furthermore, the policy determined that all persons intending to use the services of any missionary institution should explicitly be informed that Christian teaching was crucial for the respective organisation. The missionaries also committed themselves not to encourage the desire of minors to receive baptism, since they did not want to undermine the authority of the parents. Furthermore, they believed that a public change of religion required personal maturity.[284] The matter of teaching Christian religion to Muslims and the possibility to convert from Islam to Christianity was also approached. However, in this case, the missionaries articulated

[280] Minutes of Egypt Inter-Mission Council. Cairo: Nile Mission Press, n. d. [1922], YDL, Records of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, MX48 Eg98 1921, p. 27; and Rhodes, *The Anglican Church in Egypt 1936-1956 and its Relationship with British Imperialism*, 70-5.
[281] Morrison, S.A.: Egypt Area Report 1930-31. Cairo, April 1931, AEDE, Box 92b.
[282] Notes of informal meeting to discuss the situation created by the Anti-Missionary Agitation in Egypt. London, September 13th 1933, AEDE, Box 70 AII.
[283] The Policy of the Foreign Missionary Societies of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, and certain other missionary bodies with regard to their work in Egypt. October 18th 1933, AEDE, Box 63AI.
[284] The Egypt General Mission for instance was not working according to this rule previously. In the 1920s for instance they baptised two girls, who were staying with them at the converts' home. However, the age of the girls is not mentioned, but they must have been in school age, since parents of the school girls became afraid the mission might baptise their daughters by force. See Blaikie, "Mataria School," 80.

their philosophy of religious liberty.[285] They argued that evangelisation, the spreading of religious tracts, and the teaching of Christian religion should be safeguarded by the right of freedom of speech and religion. The government should not interfere as long as these activities are exercised within the framework of general regulations on religious propaganda. Furthermore, they emphasised that conversion and reconversion were also part of the religious freedom. Thereby they referred to the respective articles of the Egyptian constitution guaranteeing free exercise of all religion or belief and the absolute freedom of conscience.[286]

Fifteen years after the Egypt Inter-Mission Council drafted their policy, the Egyptian parliament issued Law 38 concerning private schools. By article XII the core activity of Protestant missionaries was regulated:

„No school may teach its pupils, boys or girls, a religion other than their own, even with the consent of the parents."[287]

Although missionary work never became a major issue in press or politics anymore until this law was issued, all parties (no matter how secular their leaders were) strengthened Islam as the religion of the state.[288] Already in 1934, a year after the anti-missionary agitations, the parliament issued Law 40, where religious teaching was regulated and non-Christians were not allowed to be taught Christian religion anymore. However, due to the capitulations, this regulation was not imposed on the missionary schools. Other articles, administering government examination, the setting of guidelines concerning the staff and the school-buildings, as well as the implementation of regular school inspections, were however enforced and also affected the educational institutions of the missionaries.[289]

Through their activism in the press, Egyptian nationalists ensured that mission became a public issue and thus a political problem that the government had to deal with. As the nationalists mobilised political powers to impose rules on the missionary work, the Egypt Inter-Mission Council used their political resources to react on governmental regulations in the cases where they regarded their interpretation of religious freedom threatened. Two aspects were therefore of particular concern: a legal foundation for converts from Islam to Christianity, and the per-

[285] The missionaries' notion of religious freedom is for instance exposed in the following memo: Morrison, S.A.: Memo; on Religious Freedom and Status of Minorities. May 1942, AEDE, Box 43bII. See also Sharkey, "Muslim Apostasy, Christian Conversion, and Religious Freedom in Egypt," 143-7.
[286] The Policy of the Foreign Missionary Societies of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, and certain other missionary bodies with regard to their work in Egypt. October 18th 1933, AEDE, Box 63AI; and Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 143-5.
[287] Morrison, S.A.: Memo concerning Egypt Mission Conference. 04.06.1948, AEDE, Box 24bI.
[288] Carter, "On Spreading the Gospel to Egyptians Sitting in Darkness," 32.
[289] Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 131-3.

mission to continue the teaching of Christian religion to Muslims.[290] Within the network of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, the British were regarded as an important partner to represent the missionaries' interests in Egypt. Acting on behalf of minorities in Egypt was one of the reserved points Britain negotiated with Egypt when the formal statement terminating the protectorate status of Egypt was issued in 1922.[291] The Egypt Inter-Mission Council claimed to act in the interest of the Christians, who were a religious minority, when appealing to the British authorities.

The sub-committee sent several letters and obtained meetings with the High Commissioner and other members of the Residency.[292] Through representatives and clergymen of the Anglican Church, the Egypt Inter-Mission Council also tried to exert influence on the Foreign Office in London. These contacts were crucial, particularly in the course of the treaty negotiations between Egypt and Great Britain in 1936, during the Montreux negotiations in 1937 concerning the capitulations, and the negotiations in the same years when Egypt intended to become a member of the League of Nations. The missionaries aimed that their understanding of religious liberty would be enshrined in Egypt's application to join the League of Nations.[293] In a letter to the Residency the concerns of the missionaries, the following can be found:

"(…) we would urge upon the British Foreign Office the importance of safeguarding (a) the rights of missionary work (b) the rights of Christian minorities and (c) the rights of converts from Islam to Christianity."[294]

To gain further importance in this matter the Inter-Mission Council also asked the United States' Secretary of State to represent the cause of religious liberty through the American

[290] The Policy of the Foreign Missionary Societies of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, and certain other missionary bodies with regard to their work in Egypt. October 18th 1933, AEDE, Box 63AI.
[291] Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt*, 71-2. The Egypt Inter-Mission Council claiming to represent the concerns of the Christians in Egypt, see Minutes of the Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council on 'Missions and Government'. Cairo, November 26th 1934, AEDE, Box 63aI; and Letter from Egypt Inter-Mission Council to The British High Commissioner in Egypt, Cairo, January 1936, AEDE, Box 63aI.
[292] On the sent letters, see Interim Meeting of the Missions and Government Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council. American University of Cairo, June 12th 1936, AEDE; Morrison, S.A., Watson, C.R., Martin, H.J., and King, A.C.: Copy of letter sent to Their Excellencies the British Ambassador and the American Minister. December 12th 1942, AEDE, Box 43bII; Minutes of the Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council on 'Missions and Government'. Cairo, January 22th 1936, AEDE, Box 24bI; and Meeting of the Missions and Government Committee of the EIMC. Cairo, 12th June 1936, AEDE, Box 63aI.
[293] Meeting of the 'Mission and Government' Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council. Cairo, September 29th 1936, AEDE, Box 63aI. Representations concerning the Law 40 to the British Foreign Office were made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by Dr. Paton of the International Missionary Council, see Morrison, S.A.: Memorandum on Draft Law Curtailing Evangelistic Work amongst Muslims. Cairo, 29.04.1940, AEDE, Box 97aVI.
[294] Letter from McClenahan, R.S., and Morrison, S.A. to Lampson, Miles, Britanic High Commissioner in Egypt, Cairo, 12th October 1936, AEDE, Box 63aI.

Ambassador in London to the British officials in the course of Egypt's admission to the League of Nations.[295]

In certain cases representatives of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council also discussed their concerns with Egyptian groups. They were in contact with the Copts regarding the matter of religious teaching in the compulsory schools. The Copts were desirous of maintaining relations with the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, but they preferred to act independently.[296] The Inter-Mission Council also consulted with the Copts about their interests as a religious minority in the course of Egypt's treaty negations for the admission to the League of Nations. The Copts however did not want that the right to perform missionary work would be associated by any means with the question of the rights of minorities.[297] Moreover, the Egypt Inter-Mission Council sought out contact with Muslim leaders in order to achieve a political goal. The Anglican Bishop of Cairo, Llewellyn H. Gwynne, was asked to approach Shaykh al-Marāghī to support the church with the request to broadcast passages on of the Bible in the French and English sections of the radio programme. The Shaykh, who was the head of the Committee for Defence of Islam, approved this request.[298]

Consequences of the Anti-Missionary Agitations

Considering that Protestant missionaries were active for more than a century in Egypt (and Catholics even longer), the period of the anti-missionary activism was a comparably short episode. Writings and press articles, critical of and even hostile towards Christian mission, appeared also in the decades prior to and after the agitations described, but only sporadically. However, larger outbursts of anti-missionary feelings can especially be found in the time between 1928 and 1933. The outrage towards the missionaries was periodically expressed in numerous articles, written by journalists who belonged to various political and religious backgrounds, and these articles usually followed certain incidents involving missionaries. Although the anti-missionary campaign occurred during a relatively short period, it had crucial long-term consequences for the Christian mission that were manifest on both, the discursive

[295] Minutes of the Meeting of the 'Mission and Government' committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council. Cairo, 10th December 1936, AEDE, Box 63aI; and Rhodes, *The Anglican Church in Egypt 1936-1956 and its Relationship with British Imperialism*, 70-3.
[296] Minutes of the Meeting of the 'Mission and Government' committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council. Cairo, 26th April 1935, AEDE, Box 63aI.
[297] Minutes of the Meeting of the 'Mission and Government' committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council. Cairo, 10th December 1936, AEDE, Box 63aI.
[298] Minutes of the Meeting of the 'Mission and Government' committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council. Cairo, 10th December 1936, AEDE, Box 63aI. Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī was a reform-minded Azhari scholar. See Ryad, "Muslim Response to Missionary Activities in Egypt," 285; and Ryad, *Islamic Reformism and Christianity*, 170-2.

level and on the governmental and legal level. Furthermore, the agitations also triggered strategic discussions within the missionary community in Egypt.

Most of the various political groups, with the exception of groups with a religious self-definition such as the Muslim Brotherhood, who were stirring the anti-missionary agitations, displayed primarily political interests. They aimed to mobilise public opinion against the unpopular government and political enemies, but also hoped to empower nationalist feelings against the imperial presence. Despite these secular objectives, the anti-missionary activism resulted in religion becoming an increasingly relevant topic within Egyptian politics, as the historian B.L. Carter notes:

"Although missionaries would never again become such a major issue, new concerns came to the fore as questions about government and party support for Islam increased. From the late 1930s, debate was increasingly focused on what constituted an appropriate public role for the religion of state. In the end, all parties, no matter how secular in outlook their leaders, relied on religious issues and sentiments to maintain and strengthen their popular support."[299]

Moreover, the arguments produced in the articles against the Christian mission inspired a genre of writings that emerged after the Second World War and which experienced an upsurge in the 1980s and 1990s among Islamists; the Arabic anti-missionary treaty.[300] The allegation that missionaries are a part of the imperial enterprise is a key argument that can be found in articles of the anti-missionary agitations as well as in these treaties. Furthermore, influential missionaries such as Samuel Zwemer, who had caused the first uproar by distributing tracts in the courts of the Azhar, remained chief villains in the anti-missionary writings even after the War.[301] (i) However, Egyptian nationalists of the 1930s did not consider missionary institutions as such nor knowledge that was taught in missionary schools as manifestation of colonialism.

(ii) However, Egyptian nationalists of the 1930s did not consider colonialism as manifest in the missionary institutions as such nor in the knowledge that was taught in their schools. For them, the teaching of Christian religion to Muslims and the evangelistic work aiming for conversion were controversial issues. In contrast, the writers of the anti-missionary treaties addi-

[299] Carter, "On Spreading the Gospel to Egyptians Sitting in Darkness," 32.
[300] The writers of missionary tracts came from various ideological background and Arab socialists are represented as well as militant Islamists. While the religion of the missionaries plays only a minor role with the Arab socialists, it becomes the key concern for the Islamists writing in the 1980s and 1990s. See Sharkey, "Arabic Antimissionary Treatises," 100-2.
[301] Although Zwemer was considered as model by many missionaries working in the Middle East, his merits for the missionary cause is rather dubious, as Heather Sharkey argues: "As the twentieth century ended, some Arab Muslim thinkers wrote anti-missionary treatises that portrayed Zwemer, first, and Gairdner, second, as the chief villains in a Christian evangelical and Western imperial plot to subvert Islam. In the long run, Zwemer aroused such bitter animosity among Muslims that he proved to be more of a liability than an asset to the work of Christian missionaries in Egypt and other parts of the Muslim world." See Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 94.

tionally considered missionary institutions to be culturally subversive, destroying the Islamic-Arabic culture and implementing western values. This ideological colonisation would hence facilitate economic and political domination.[302] These anti-missionary discourses, first receiving a culmination point in the early 1930s, contributed, in present-day Egypt, to the fact that Christian mission has largely become a taboo topic.

For the missionary societies, the anti-missionary agitations had medium-term consequences. While they generally took note of the agitations and also reported on it in their accounts to their supporters, not all of them felt the urge to reconsider their work or change their strategy.[303] For instance, a missionary doctor from the hospital of the Egypt General Mission stated the following at the 1936 Egypt Inter-Mission Council conference:

"*Dr. Farrow*. We at Shebin have not had to change our tactics. From the bitter opposition of three years ago our work has increased, and the people have shown no hostility to us or our message, so we have not had to change our method of approach."[304]

Thereby other medical missionaries working for other hospitals also admitted that they did not change their missionary methods after the anti-missionary agitations. They were convinced that the people they had regular contact with, judged according to their positive experience with missionaries and not according to negative reports in the press of the recent past.[305]

In other branches of missionary work however, possible restrictions following the anti-missionary agitations were taken into account. At the Educational Conference of the Inter-Mission Council in 1937 for instance, several papers discussed the question of schooling in the context of growing regulations and standardisations through the actions of the Egyptian Ministry of Education. In the concluding remarks, the Egypt Inter-Mission Council committee stated that the missionaries were concerned with the fact "that Government curricula, inspection, and examinations, have produced the typical government school and its typical product; that the tendency of government education is to crush variety, and to breed uniformity; that Moslem government will restrict Christian teaching (…)."[306] Because of the increasing restrictions in school work, the committee proposed village education as a strategic line of development for mission education. This kind of work primarily contributed to community needs and aimed to improve rural conditions.[307] The committee believed that Christian mis-

[302] Sharkey, "Empire and Muslim Conversion," 54-6.
[303] Enderlin, "Stimmungsbilder zur Missionslage," 34-9; "A Storm in the Egyptian Press," 53; and "Anti-Missionary Agitation," 59.
[304] Calash, "Discussion led by Dr. Calash," 38. Italics in the original.
[305] Calash, "Discussion led by Dr. Calash," 38-9.
[306] Abdel Malik, Cooper, and Galt, "Report of the Findings Committee," 97.
[307] Bailey, "The Possibilities of Village Education," 46-7.

sion could become a pioneer in this field, particularly because it was comparatively free from government control.[308]

Paradoxical as it may sound, the Egypt Inter-Mission Council as a body profited from the anti-missionary agitations: It grew in its number of members and thus in importance. At the Annual General Conference of 1926, fourteen missionary societies were members and only three societies sent their own representatives; while in 1936 all twenty-one societies were represented.[309] Through their cooperation, missions became more powerful and their common claims gained significance. The Egyptian nationalists were attacking that which for most Protestant missions was the core interest for their work, namely the teaching and spreading of Christian religion in schools and other welfare institutions. Therefore the Egypt Inter-Mission Council was able to represent its common concerns and could take action if a member had trouble with local authorities. A further factor was responsible for the growth of the council. The Egyptian government wished to deal with the Protestant missions through a recognised and accepted channel, as they were doing with the Catholic mission.[310]

The Egypt Inter-Mission Council was well connected with foreign, in particular with British authorities, and it also used these contacts for the representation of its interests. However, despite all the efforts, missionaries could not prevent their work becoming increasingly observed and restricted by the Egyptian government in the years and decades which followed. In 1934, they still aimed to obtain a right of registration of converts from Islam to Christianity. Thus, they remained optimistic to even extending the opportunities of the missionary work.[311] They were convinced that religious liberty and the guarantee to conduct missionary work could only be ensured in Egypt, if imposed through international contracts. For that reason they aimed to exercise a certain pressure on Egypt through foreign embassies and authorities. The British authorities consulted the council and helped them in critical periods. However, in the treaty negotiation of 1936, the Empire intended to set a favourable treaty in terms of strategic and economic interests. Safeguarding the missionaries' interest in religious liberty was not an issue of priority for Britain.[312]

After the Montreux Convention, signed in May 1937, which set out terms in which Egypt, over the course of twelve years, would phase out the Capitulary system for foreigners, the

[308] Abdel Malik, Cooper, and Galt, "Report of the Findings Committee," 97-8.
[309] "Missionary Agencies Participating in the Egypt Inter-Mission Council," 3; and "Societies Cooperating in and Members of Egypt Inter-Mission Council, 1936," 3-4.
[310] Notes of informal meeting to discuss the situation created by the Anti-Missionary Agitation in Egypt. London, September 13th 1933, AEDE, Box 70 AII.
[311] Morrison, S.A.: Minutes of the Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council on 'Mission and Government'. Cairo, 26th November 1934, AEDE, Box 63aI.
[312] Rhodes, *The Anglican Church in Egypt 1936-1956 and its Relationship with British Imperialism*, 71-2.

Egypt Inter-Mission Council was busy defending the rights the missionary were risking to lose.[313] The Egyptian government had already started restricting the missionary work by a restrictive visa policy and tighter regulation concerning foreign education. With the abolition of the capitulary system in 1948, Christian religious teaching for Muslims was no longer allowed in schools. Furthermore, the revolution of 1952 resulted in further regulations concerning the curriculum and language teaching at foreign schools. However, the fading power of the British Empire in Egypt, as well as the increasingly self-confident nationalistic claims of the Egyptians, impacted the attitudes of the missionaries towards their fellow Egyptian Protestants. The Egyptian Evangelicals also expressed a nationalist awareness and claimed to occupy higher positions in the management of the institutions. Therefore S.A. Morrison from the Egypt Inter-Mission Board, considering the government's attitude towards mission and the social trend in Egypt, noted in a speech in 1943:

"The spirit of nationalism in Egypt has not yet reached its zenith. Egyptians will probably claim a more responsible part in the missionary enterprise. This is as it should be. We should be selecting and training Egyptians to take the place of missionaries. Egyptians should progressively assume a larger responsibility in the control of missionary institutions. The Egyptian Church, in all its branches, should become the main evangelistic agency among non-Christians."[314]

[313] Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 131-3.
[314] Morrison, S.A.: New Emphasis in Missionary Work during the next then Years: Outline of Talk by S. A. Morrison. Cairo, 1943, AEDE, Box 43bII, Brown File.

2. MISSIONARY EDUCATIONAL WORK

2.1 The Missionaries' Self-Understanding in Education

The American missionary Anna B. Criswell opened the *Egypt Inter-Mission Council* conference on education on the last day of 1936 with a paper entitled "Why Christian Schools?", stating:

"It seems almost a paradox that we, a group of missionary-minded educational workers, should gather to discuss the need or the value of Christian schools. The whole structure of our Mission Work is built on a foundation the main strength of which is the work of the Mission schools. The Evangelical Church of Egypt has from its beginning been dependent on these schools for its leadership and the recruiting and training of its members."[315]

Following Criswell, education was a fundamental pillar of the Protestant mission in Egypt and an important method of missionary work. However, the Evangelicals did not only establish schools in order to preach the gospel to children and parents in religious classes. They regarded literacy as an important skill for every Christian's spirituality, since the individual's ability to read and understand the scripture independently was regarded as crucial for any relation to God.[316] Furthermore, the missionary schools provided secular and religious education and in doing so created employment for indigenous missionary staff who would serve as nurses, teachers, Bible women, evangelists etc. in missionary institutions or as ministers in Protestant churches.[317]

Missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, established schools as part of their work from the beginning of their endeavours in the Middle East.[318] Examining the Protestant missionaries' self-understanding of their missionary work, the consideration of mission conferences can be insightful. During such conferences the participating missionaries were able to discuss and reflect on their work and aims with a certain distance to their everyday activities in the missionary field. In order to examine the missionaries' self-understanding in their educational work I will analyse their educational ideals and aims, but also discussions on problems and strategies. The missionaries' demarcation from non-missionary educational institutions, such as government schools, may be insightful in determining where they saw the specifics of their schools to lie. Although I focus on the discussions of Protestant missionaries in Egypt, I will refer to

[315] Criswell, "Why Christian Schools?," 9-12.
[316] Sedra, *Textbook Maneuvers*, 40-1; Brecht, "Die Bedeutung der Bibel im deutschen Pietismus," 102-3; and Jakubowski-Tiessen, "Eigenkultur und Traditionsbildung," 201-3.
[317] Sharkey, American Evangelicals in Egypt, 27-8.
[318] Reiss, *Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche,* 19-21.

certain widespread ideas and practices in the global missionary movement in order to contextualise the concepts described.

Educational Mission and "Missionary Colonialism"

Education evolved into an established missionary tool, one practiced by all major missionary societies in most regions during the nineteenth century. While at the 1860 Liverpool Conference on Mission there were still discussions as to whether or not it was right to teach topics other than the Gospel,[319] the aims of missionary education were much broader defined at the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh.[320] The commission with the task of investigating "Education in relation to the Christianisation of national life" distributed questionnaires to the participants tending to identify the main purposes of missionary education. The commission aimed to identify three main purposes according to the questionnaires and furthermore listed a fourth motive. The first line of response considered the evangelism of pupils and parents as the main purpose of missionary education, in particular in primary schools. A second highlighted category of response, and similar to Anna B. Criswell's earlier statement, was the essential role of education for the training of indigenous missionary and church staff. These responses attribute great importance to the secondary and higher education enabling the formation of qualified professionals.[321] The third line of response regarded the main purpose of missionary education to be the diffusion of Christian virtues and values influencing the students in their future conduct of life, even if they did not convert to Christianity.[322] This kind of education, which is called "character education" in the sources I examined, aimed to influence society by having an impact on its future elites. Finally, the report of the commission mentions a fourth motive which it describes as "the philanthropic desire to promote the general welfare of the people" without any explicit intention of conversion.[323]

The Protestant missionaries in Egypt expressed the purpose of their Christian schools in the report of the Helwan Regional Conference of 1924 and their goals were reaffirmed at the Egypt Inter-Mission Council's educational conference in 1937. The report of the Helwan Conference stated:

" The Conference finds that the objective in mission schools and colleges is two fold: (a) To touch, purify, and influence individual lives and com-munities so as to bring them to the

[319] Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History,* 203-4.
[320] Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference,* 167-200.
[321] Stanley, The World Missionary Conference, 176.
[322] Stanley, The World Missionary Conference, 186-8.
[323] Stanley, The World Missionary Conference, 176-7.

knowledge of Jesus Christ and acceptance of Him as Lord and Saviour. (b) To conserve, improve, and extend membership in the Church of Christ, and to train up men and women devoted to the service of His Kingdom on earth. "[324]

The two targets declared in the report match the first two lines of answers identified by the commission on education during the Edinburgh conference. Missionary education was intended to have an impact on the personality of the student ("purify"), leading him/her to live a morally sound life. On the other hand, its driving aim was to convert the student to the Christian faith. The aim to evangelise students, combined with the promotion of moral virtues, remained the leading target for educational work and was also mentioned as the essential purpose of Christian education in later conferences of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council.[325]

With the declaration of the Helwan Report that missionary schools aimed to "influence individual lives and communities so as to bring them to a knowledge of Jesus Christ", Paul Sedra's hypothesis of "missionary colonialism" seems to be supported. Sedra examines the early Protestant missionary activities in Egypt in relation to the Coptic Churches in mid-nineteenth century Egypt. According to Sedra's argument, Evangelicals propagated a free and conscious choice to convert to Christianity as well as promoting the independent reading of the biblical Scripture. However, on the other hand, the missionaries imposed constraints upon the liberty of independent thinking and "developed subtle techniques of interpretative control."[326] The propagated private judgment was an illusion however, as the missionaries aimed to inculcate a spirit of subjection and establish their authority. The missionaries are considered as agents of colonialism and acted in order to subject the Egyptians to a certain order which would fit their imperial needs; colonisation not of the body but of the mind.[327] According to Sedra the "stated aim of mission was conversion of the individual to Christianity – but for the nineteenth century evangelical, Christianity *was* industry and discipline, Christianity *was* order."[328] The validity of Sedra's hypothesis will be discussed in the course of this chapter by considering the missionary strategies and ideals and, in particular, by examining the actual schoolwork.

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[324] Mott, *Conferences of Christian Workers among Moslems,* 85-6; and Criswell, "Why Christian Schools?," 9-10.

[325] For example when discussing the importance of religious education the presenter of the paper noted: Truly what is intended is education; that is, the awakening in the child's soul of all that which corresponds to the Christian conception of training it and uplifting it. In fact, to give him the practice of uprightness, charity, humility and other Christian virtues; for religion is, above all, life." See Ayrout, "Religious Education and the Present Crisis," 12.

[326] Sedra, *Textbook Maneuvers*, 41.

[327] Sedra, "John Lieder and his Mission in Egypt," 221-2 and 238-9; and Sedra, "Modernity's Mission," 233-5.

[328] Sedra, *Textbook Maneuvers*, 42-3. Emphasis in the original.

Problems in educational Work and strategic Considerations

Discussions on problems in schoolwork and on missionary strategies are insightful for understanding how the objects of the educational mission were comprehended in practice. The missionaries, for instance, discussed the problems which former missionary students might face when they move from their home towns to the city in order to continue their studies or search for work. According to the missionaries, the students faced economic difficulties related to problems in finding work after their studies, and unhealthy and challenging life circumstances. The missionaries were especially concerned with the moral and religious problems the students might face:

"Drinking, smoking and expensive hobbies are far more prevalent among students these days than they were twelve years ago. On the surface of things the student of to-day seems to exercise less self-control in the matter of sex than his predecessor."[329]

Drug abuse, intemperance and extramarital sexual relations, but also an uncontrolled and poorly directed mode of living that led to a waste of time, were mainly seen as moral threats. Furthermore, they feared a breakdown of religious belief when the students came under the influence of scientific and atheist circles, above all at university. A misappropriation of western ideas and customs by young people, as well as a false idea of freedom that considered moral principles as obsolete, were viewed as causes for these threats.[330] Regarding sexual matters, economic circumstance were also problematic, since educated men normally could not get married before the age of thirty due to financial reasons. Aside from these worries concerning moral and religious integrity, the missionaries also recognised promising tendencies in the young generation. Although many young men exercised less self-control in sexual matters, they respected girls and women much more then previous generations.[331] Furthermore, the claim for freedom and self-dependence as well as the patriotic feelings were considered as promising, especially in relation to the willingness of the young generation to serve their community and country:

"Our students today are independent and they have a right to be, and nothing can keep them from being so. They show courage where the previous generation showed servile submission. Their interests are broader, their sympathies larger, their intellects keener, and their attitudes more heroic at the time of action."[332]

At the Egypt Inter-Mission Council Conference, the missionaries discussed how they could face these problems. Furthermore, they considered how they could better prepare their stu-

[329] Kelada, "The Egyptian Student Problem," 12.
[330] Watson and Smith, "Egyptian Student Problem," 16-8.
[331] Kelada, "The Egyptian Student Problem," 12.
[332] Kelada, "The Egyptian Student Problem," 15.

dents for the life in the city and how to support them with their problems. One of the speakers at the conference critically noted that teachers in missionary schools were tempted to teach religion and also the other subjects, theoretically and comprehensively for their own sake and therefore "fail miserably in applying the truth to concrete practical situations and problems which belong to the daily life."[333] He therefore claimed that religious education and character training should specifically discuss the problems students might face in their life. Furthermore, he emphasised the importance of the "independence of judgment" and "courage" in the character training at schools and regretted that most of the missionary schools neglected the teaching of these values.[334] In order to reach the students living in the city and not standing under the influence of the Christian school (anymore), the missionaries considered possibilities as to how they might support them. Public lectures on topics such as healthy food and housing, students' hostels or leisure and sport activities, were considered valuable options.

While discussions of the dangers of modern city life were mostly aimed at young men, the missionaries also discussed developments and problems in girls' education. Schools for girls were established soon after the emergence of Protestant missionary work in the Middle East.[335] Missionaries perceived the status of women in the Middle East with criticism and were shocked about their living circumstances. They aimed to improve the condition of the women and advance their status in society by establishing schools for girls.[336] In this context it is noteworthy that missionary work not only had an impact on gender roles of indigenous women but furthermore transformed the gendered self and identity of the missionary workers. Western female missionaries, who were often excluded from professional life in their home countries, worked as teachers, school headmistresses, nurses, doctors and, to a certain degree, as preaching evangelists. In particular single missionary women received competences and in the missionary field enjoyed freedoms, which were usually reserved for male professionals.[337] Therefore it also was not strange that the chairman of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council Committee on Education and convener of the 1937 Conference on Education was a woman.

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[333] Watson and Smith, "Egyptian Student Problem," 18.
[334] Watson and Smith, "Egyptian Student Problem," 17.
[335] In Syria the Presbyterians built their first girls' school in 1835, but girls were already taught bevor the school was formally founded (see Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity," 413), the first CMS schools for girls in Egypt were establishes in 1829 (see Sedra, "John Lieder and his Mission in Egypt," 231) and the American Presbyterians established their school in 1864 (see Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 36), but the first government school in Egypt was opened in 1873.
[336] Sproul, *The American College for Girls,* 57-8. Sharkey evaluates the feminism of the missionaries as Orientalist feminism "built on the conviction that women in Islamic societies were oppressed and that American women, who were enlightened and liberated, could save them." See Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 89.
[337] Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity," 422; and Thorne, "Religion and Empire at Home," 163-4.

Miss French, the chairman of the Committee on Education, was at the time of the conference an experienced educator and had spent 27 years in Egypt. According to her experience there had been huge developments in the Egyptian girlhood:

"I say that it is a far cry from the stolid little fourteen-year olds of my early years who were 'too big to play' and knew little or nothing outside their own small circles, to the alert, active, well-informed girlhood of to-day (sic), co-operative in spirit, with an outlook far beyond the limits of their own communities."[338]

Furthermore, Miss French was optimistic that a real love of reading was being fostered due to the accomplished improvements of school libraries and to the activities of the mission's literature committee. Thereby, she believed that the pleasures of literacy would prevent the girls to relapse into illiteracy after they left school. In order to also reach the rural populations some missionary societies, such as the *Egypt General Mission*, taught the rudiments of reading and writing, adapting their instructions to rural needs.[339] The promotion of literacy, with a particular focus on girls, can be considered as an important objective of missionary activities.

Despite the progresses in the girls' education, the missionaries considered certain developments in Egyptian schooling during the 1930s as problematic. The main problem concerning girls' education discussed at the 1937 Conference on Education was the establishment of government certificate examinations for girls. Although girls were not obligated to pass the exam and schools were not obligated to teach according to the respective curriculum, students and parents increasingly demanded to attend the government tests. Hence, the demand grew to follow the government syllabus in the missionary schools as had long been done in boys' schools.[340]

The missionary educators were reluctant to introduce the government syllabus and examination for two reasons. Firstly, they feared that a greater emphasis on the examination had grown more important than the teaching itself and that the efforts to get good results would lead to a mechanised education without any higher values. Secondly, the missionaries considered the syllabus for the girls' secondary education as placing "great emphasis upon an amount of mathematics and science which most girls in Egypt will never use, and did away,

[338] French, "Survey of Developments in Mission Education in Egypt in the Past Decade," 30.
[339] French, "Survey of Developments in Mission Education in Egypt in the Past Decade," 30. The promotion of literacy in rural area remained a concern for the missionary and in 1947 an Egypt Inter-Mission Council Conference was held on this topic. For this event Frank C. Laubach was invited, a missionary who worked in the Philippines and who developed a method in order to spread literacy. See *Twenty-First General Conference of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council on the Egypt Literacy Campaign Conducted by Dr. Frank C. Laubach.*
[340] French, "Survey of Developments in Mission Education in Egypt in the Past Decade," 27-8.

almost entirely, with the subject of value in cultural, moral and religious training and in preparation for the sphere of homemaking (…)."[341]

Miss French saw the challenge for missionary education to find strategies and means in order to continue the education according to the missionary spirit despite the requirements of the government curriculum. She therefore encouraged the educators to consider how best to continue teaching religious matters, cultural subjects, homemaking subjects and physical education. She regarded these and similar subject as being crucial for an education of the spirit and for preparing the girls for practical life at home and in society.[342] However, also for the girls' education, the main contribution and object of the missionary schools was seen in "a loving, faithful presentation of the Rock of our Salvation",[343] i.e. the teaching of the Christian message and spiritual values. Thereby Miss French associated the Christian faith with moral values and illustrated this relation with a conversation she sometimes had with non-Christian parents. These parents sometimes asked why their child had to attend religious classes and Miss French usually countered with the question as to why they wanted to send them to a missionary school:

"The answer has always been the same – 'Because we prefer the manners and the morals of your girls to those of the pupils of other schools.' And I have said, 'Then let us not pull out the foundation upon which we build them.'"[344]

The considerations of the problems described and of strategies in educational mission reveal the missionaries' aspiration to provide more than just schooling and imparting knowledge. They were concerned with the life and character of their students and hoped that the education would make a permanent impact on their character. The first concern and main objective of the missionary practice corresponded to the first objective stated in the 1924 Helwan Conference and later reaffirmed in the 1937 Conference of Education: to encourage the students to lead a life in accordance with Christian faith and its moral principles. It is worth noting that the missionaries did not discuss traditional concepts and habits as moral and religious threats, but rather saw beliefs and enjoyment which were influenced by the West, as being harmful for young men living in the city. Besides morality and religion, the missionary education aimed to cultivate both the spirit of the students (by providing literature and music) and their physical wellbeing (by providing physical education and advice for healthy living). Furthermore, boys and girls should not just be educated in order to become literate and better their job pro-

[341] French, "Survey of Developments in Mission Education in Egypt in the Past Decade," 28.
[342] French, "Survey of Developments in Mission Education in Egypt in the Past Decade," 28-9.
[343] French, "Survey of Developments in Mission Education in Egypt in the Past Decade," 31.
[344] French, "Survey of Developments in Mission Education in Egypt in the Past Decade," 31.

spects, but rather it was hoped that they would serve family and community as well as contributing to the development to their country.

The ideal Teacher and Education

The discussions on the problems in missionary education reveal a certain criticism towards the governmental education. A study of how the missionaries distinguished their work from the work of government schools is insightful for the understanding of the missionary self-understanding in educational work. The missionaries claimed to offer a better education than government schools, not only concerning the "character education", but also in respect of the quality of teaching in general. The missionaries' self-confidence was nourished by the fact that many Egyptian families from different social classes decided to send their child to a missionary school.[345] While missionary schools enjoyed a good reputation, many Egyptian parents apparently shared Criswell's criticism for the government schools:

"In Egypt, we are all too familiar with the mechanical methods found in the type of school evolved by a strongly centralized system of education.(…) The teacher wants to make a good showing, the boy wants only to pass the examination and so be in line for a wellpaid (sic!) Government position. In this mad effort the broader meaning of education is forgotten. The pupil receives no real training for life. He is neither a happier individual, nor a better neighbour, nor a more useful citizen because of his education."[346]

The missionaries criticised the strong standardisation of schooling imposed by the Egyptian ministry of Education, and regarded it as reason for the overcrowded curriculum. Due to requirements of the government syllabus and the pressure to pass standardised examination, education degenerated to a mere process of cramming.[347] Teacher and student were part of this education machinery, which caused the demoralisation of both of them. In such a context, education lost its significance and became just a means to an end; that students would receive the certificate and teachers would keep the job.

Missionaries, in contrast, saw the deeper meaning of education in its contribution to the welfare and happiness of the individual person as well as the community. Furthermore, they were convinced that their schools were still able to pursue education with a broader meaning. A

[345] Many of the students attending for instance the American College for Girls in Cairo were daughters of Pashas and Beys and therefore came from the upper-class. See Sproul, *The American College for Girls,* 63 and 67-8.
[346] Criswell, "Why Christian Schools?," 11.
[347] Complaints on the reduction of learning to rote learning and cramming are also often mentioned in the Context of colonial Indian. However, in these cases not the (British) educational system was criticised, but rather that the students and most of the indigenous teachers pursued practiced education as cramming. See Seth, "Changing the Subject," 666-73.

crucial difference was seen in possibilities the teachers still enjoyed in missionary schools and in their motivation for the work.

According to the self-understanding and ideals of the missionaries, their teachers were still free to choose the suitable method for their instructions and had the possibility to present the required materials.[348] Thereby they emphasised the importance of well trained teachers who were capable and willing to utilise new ideas and methods and in so doing, were willing to continue to study and discuss books on pedagogy and new methods of teaching. The school's task entailed the provision of supervision and encouragement by more experience educationalists in order to support the young and motivated teachers. Moreover, the teacher should examine themselves and critically evaluate their own personal qualities, their methods and the results obtained.[349] However, the missionaries' ideal teacher was not limited to scholastic excellence; the importance of the teacher's character and a sincere Christian conviction were highlighted. The ideal teachers would have, or seek to have "all the qualities of sympathy, fair-mindedness, tact, self-control, justice"[350] and in particular must love and be able to lead children and young people. Furthermore, since the school was considered serving the community, it was expected that the teachers would maintain a good relationship with the community and in particular with the parents of the children.[351]

The missionaries were convinced that their education made an important contribution to the Egyptian society and could serve as model for the Egyptian schools in general:

"It is in this emphasis on the things of the spirit that at present the Christian schools make their most acceptable contribution to Egypt. On every hand leaders in Egypt bear testimony to the type of character, produced in the young men and women in our schools. Students leave school with an independence of character, a love for justice and truth, a desire for service. Thinking men realize that a nation cannot live unless the spiritual qualities of its citizens are cultivated. Mere intellectual culture will bring death, the things of the spirit give life."[352]

The educational ideal of the missionaries was not limited to the imparting of knowledge but claimed to follow a more holistic approach that promoted a virtuous and independent personality. The ideal of forming an honest, righteous and self-dependent person, who also took care of the community, was equally pursued in both girls' and boys' schools. Furthermore, the missionaries self-consciously argued that their convictions were increasingly shared by the

[348] Criswell, "Why Christian Schools?," 11.
[349] Patterson, "Selection and Training of Teachers in Mission Schools," 68.
[350] Patterson, "Selection and Training of Teachers in Mission Schools," 70.
[351] Abdel Malik, "The Teacher's Relation to the Community," 61-2.
[352] Criswell, "Why Christian Schools?," 11. Abdel Malik furthermore suggested establishing an organisation similar to the "Parent Teachers Association" in the United States, but adapted to suit the Egyptian environment. The objectives of such an association would consist, among other in raising the standards of home life, develop a better trained parenthood and promote the cooperation between home and school in the education of the children. See Abdel Malik, "The Teacher's Relation to the Community," 65.

Egyptian elite who recognised that these educational principles would make a greater contribution to the country than mere intellectual training.

According to Criswell, missionary schools did not aim to produce disciplined and obedient soldiers, but rather virtuous and independent personalities, devoted to serving their community and, ideally, also the Christian God. The objective to educate the children to becoming responsible and independent personality is also reflected in the presentation on important developments in pedagogy given by Herbert W. Vandersall at the 1937 Conference on Education. In his paper, Vandersall focused on features common to most of the so called "progressive schools", in so far as they were regarded as relevant for the Egyptian context.[353] Already in the first consideration, he emphasised that the schools should conform to the child and its needs and not the other way round as practiced in traditional schools. According to these pedagogic concepts, the child was regarded as naturally good and the teacher's task consisted in directing the child and helping it to grow and learn without forcing them. Consequently, the presenter forwards the notion "that **the child should be given freedom**, and treated as an individual, not one of a servile group"[354] and along with this freedom students should be given responsibility in accordance with their age and abilities. Moreover, progressive pedagogy claimed to abolish rewards and punishments as far as possible, as it favoured intrinsic motivation to external pressure and awards.[355]

However, the ideas and practices presented at the 1937 Conference on Education were not undisputed and the suggestion to give the students freedom and responsibility was particularly discussed. The missionaries were convinced that it was crucial to raise the child to "ever increasing freedom, and yet safeguard him from misconceptions."[356] Understanding freedom as a licence to do whatever the students pleased would be as a misconception. As I have previously shown, male students living in the city were particularly regarded as being tempted by

[353] Vandersall, "Survey of the more Important Educational Developments of the Past Ten Years in Western Lands," 13. Modern pedagogic approaches were not only discussed at the Conference on Education, but also reflected by Egyptian educators working in the context of missionary schools. Nasīm Jirjāwī for example, a graduate in pedagogy from the University of Pittsburgh and Professor at the Presbyterian Assiut College, discussing ideas from the American pedagogy (among others, he considers thoughts of John Dewy) consider it's value for the Egyptian context. See Jirjāwī, *Al-Tarbiya al-Amrīkiyya wa-mā naqtabisuhu minhā li-Tarbiyatnā al-Miṣriyya,* 1-20.

[354] Vandersall, "Survey of the more Important Educational Developments of the Past Ten Years in Western Lands," 14. Emphasis in the original.

[355] The presented pedagogy considered ideas, which were rather unusual in practice in the mainstream, missionary or government, schools in Egypt. Hence the presenter, a teacher at the American University of Cairo, discussed ideas of the necessity of sex instruction in the syllabus, the importance of co-education in primary and secondary school, the claim for reduction of exams and grades to a minimum and the favors of a teacher-student relation that is rather shaped by friendship then authority. See Vandersall, "Survey of the more Important Educational Developments of the Past Ten Years in Western Lands," 15-8.

[356] Thompson, "Discussion," 32-3.

this notion of freedom. The missionary described the ideal of discipline in the Egyptian schools as strictly military, and were therefore afraid that giving too much freedom to the students might be counterproductive. They were convinced that freedom required a sense of responsibility which involved self-discipline and will to live according to good morals. Their education aimed to contribute to this kind of conscientious self-dependance.

2.2.1 The English Mission College

Mr. and Mrs. Martin were sent to Cairo by the Church Mission to the Jews in 1922. Mr. Martin taught English and scripture to Jewish businessmen, and soon the couple also started a Sunday school for Jewish children.[357] Some of their parents asked the missionaries to found an English day school and with the help of Jewish Christians, as well as of the Anglican Bishop in Cairo, money was collected.[358] The missionaries started their work with four teachers and 22 pupils in an old, rented building in Faggala, a district near Down-Town Cairo, in September 1924 and named the school *English Mission College* (often referred to *EMC* in the sources).[359] Within four years, the number of students grew to four hundred and reached its maximum of nine hundred in 1946.[360] As a result, new school buildings were built in Qubba (Heliopolis) in 1936 while in 1937 in the old school building the *Emmanuel School* was established, providing a similar education for children of less fortunate families.[361] The missionaries of the College and the Emmanuel School taught Jewish children as well as Christians and Muslims, since the school "should be international, open to all who wished to avail themselves of the Christian and English education it offered. At one time there were 29 different nationalities registered in the school (…)."[362] In order to be able to offer an English education, Mr. Martin and the subsequent principals aimed to hire British and English native teachers.[363] However, in particular at the Emmanuel School but also at the English Mission College also Egyptians and other nationals were also employed to teach.[364]

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[357] Martin, *Sowers by the Nile*, 4-5; and *Foundation Stones*, *1924-1949*, 7.
[358] Martin, *Sowers by the Nile*, 7-8; and English Mission College, Cairo: Principles and Practice. 17.05.1950, AEDE, Bundle 49a.
[359] *Foundation Stones, 1924-1949*, 8-11.
[360] Ministry of Education Report by H.M. Inspectors: The English Mission College, Cairo, inspected on 8th, 9th and 10th March 1949. AEDE, Bundle 49a.
[361] *Foundation Stones, 1924-1949*, 48-51.
[362] *Foundation Stones, 1924-1949*, 17.
[363] The English Mission College printed a brochure with a brief description of the school and the requirements for for the personal in order to attract and inform potential teachers in England. See English Mission College, Cairo: Principles and Practice. 17.05.1950, AEDE, Bundle 49a.
[364] English Mission College, Qubba Palace, Names of Members of the Staff: Degrees & Qualifications. n.d. [1947], AEDE, Box 37a.

Due to the close encounter of students and teachers of different national and religious background, as well as due to specific school structures, the English Mission College (and also the *Bethel School* in Suez, examined in the next chapter) can be considered as culturally entangled spaces. As a school it was fundamentally an institution for the socialisation of the children. After the family, schools usually form the second social space where children are educated, but with a slightly different focus stressing the acquisition of knowledge. Following Pierre Bourdieu, schools are essential for *habitus* formation. He defines this as "a system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action."[365] Students incorporate *cultural capital* by investing their time and efforts in education.[366]

After a few remarks on the corpus of sources, I will focus my study on the microhistory of the English Mission College, examining the praxis of everyday life and the experiences of former students in this chapter. However, everyday life at school can only be meaningfully studied if the structures of the school and the social environment are considered. The school's relations to parents, the government or the church, as well as the question of how the school was funded and what objects it pursued, were crucial for its structures and how it was run. Following Mary Louise Pratt, power relations are often asymmetrically shaped in contact zones and therefore it is essential to analyse the field of power revolving around the EMC and contextualised in an imperially occupied Egypt.[367] By approaching the everyday life at school and the experiences of former students, I will explore categories and sub-categories which are well grounded in the sources.[368] Developing these categories and studying their proprieties and relations to other concepts will provide insight into processes of transfer, acquisition and negotiation within culturally entangled spaces.

Notes on the Corpus of Sources

The English Mission College underwent essential changes after 1956 and many of the sources were transferred to the archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Egypt in Cairo at that time. Here

[365] Bourdieu, "Habitus," 43. Emphasis in the original. On education and habitus, see also Krais and Gebauer, *Habitus*, 61-4; and Smith, "Ethos, Habitus and Situation for Learning".
[366] Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital - Kulturelles Kapital - Soziales Kapital," 55-9.
[367] Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," 34.
[368] As stated in the Introduction of this study, I am my procedure is inspired by the Grounded Theory, developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, and terms such "category", "core-category" and "grounded" are part of this method. See Glaser and Strauss, *Grounded Theory*; Strauss, *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung*; and Corbin and Strauss, "Grounded Theory Research ".

I found printed sources such as anniversary publications and prayer letters, but also archival sources, such as minutes, letters, timetables, speeches for special events and financial reports. The bulk of the archival sources dates back to the 1940s and 1950s.

Today, the English Mission College has a very active alumni organisation, which has regularly organised meetings and a group of Christian alumni meeting every Sunday evening for prayer. I had the opportunity to attend two of these prayersmeetings and spoke to many Christian alumni. It was more difficult to find Muslims who had attended the English Mission College since most of the non-Christian students left school in 1948. With the aid of a directory from 1991 of the EMC alumni association I managed to meet and interview Muslim students. This directory comprises of the address and year of graduation and also the occupation of most of the alumni, giving insight into the careers of English Mission College students. Besides the conversations with several alumni (on certain occasion I took notes) I conducted four oral-history interviews, with two Muslim men and with a Christian man and woman (whereby the sister of the female interviewee -also an EMC alumna- was also present during the interview and sometimes shared her experiences).

Structures and Self-Understanding of the English Mission College

The English Mission College comprised of a preparatory school as well as a girls school and a boys school, all of which provided primary and secondary education. The basic language of the School was English, but Arabic as well as French were also taught as school subjects. Furthermore, the school provided the possibility for the students to take the examinations of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board and the curriculum was formed accordingly.[369] A leaflet providing parents with the regulations of and information on the English Mission College, lists all the subjects taught at school:

"**13. Curriculum**. The following subjects are taught in the College: The English, Arabic and French languages, Scripture, History, Geography. Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry. Biology, Domestic Subjects. Economics, Music, Art, Commercial Subjects, Physical Training and Games."[370]

Although the boys and girls were taught separately, they generally had the same subjects, but with different options of choice in the top forms.[371] In the last two years the students could choose special topics (shorthand and typewriting for the girls, for example) and focus on cer-

[369] English Mission College, Cairo: Principles and Practice. 17.05.1950, AEDE, Bundle 49a. On the curriculum of British Schools in the first half of the twentieth century, see Gordon, "Curriculum," 188-97.
[370] English Mission College: Information and Regulation for Parents. 01.11.1951, AEDE, Box 35b.
[371] Discussions on school subjects for boys and girls in Britain in the 1920s, see Gordon, "Curriculum," 192-3.

tain subjects (e.g. take additional mathematics, if they wanted to enter engineering at the university), they were interested in.[372] Although domestic science was a subject for girls only, in preparatory school both boys and girls took needle work.[373] For science classes the school provided laboratories, which were situated in the Boys School but were also used by the girls. A report from the British Ministry of Education evaluated the laboratories as very small and the biology equipments as insufficient for proper instruction. While boys had biology, chemistry and physics as separate subjects, which were required for university access, the girls took these subjects as general science.[374] Boys and girls had physical education, but the girls only had lessons until the fourth form of secondary school. The British inspection report criticised this fact as well as the lack of a gymnasium and playing field.[375]

Of particular importance for sports was the house-system of the College. The boys' and girls' school each comprised four houses with a corresponding colour and name (for example, at the boys' school the houses were called King's House, Queens' House and at the girls' school they were called Nightingale House, Catherine House etc.), and every student was assigned to one of the houses.[376] This house-system was common in British public schools. The original concept of this system came from the boarding school, where the boarders were assigned to a house, where they were sleping. In each house, at least one teacher was responsible for the children, taking parenting functions and thereby replacing to a certain degree the absent parents.[377] Since the English Mission College was not a boarding school, the houses did not exist as physical buildings, but were rather organisational units. Each house at the College had a housemaster or a housemistress, and furthermore there were students who were house-captain and game-captain.[378] There was a certain competition between the houses, particularly on sports day, when each house formed its team.[379]

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[372] Ministry of Education Report by H.M. Inspectors: The English Mission College, Cairo, inspected on 8th, 9th and 10th March 1949. AEDE, Bundle 49a, p. 2.
[373] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4.2.2010 (transcript l. 317-321).
[374] Ministry of Education Report by H.M. Inspectors: The English Mission College, Cairo, inspected on 8th, 9th and 10th March 1949. AEDE, Bundle 49a, pp. 3 and 5. It is remarkable that an EMC alumnus remembers the laboratories differently: "I mean we had a lot of *symmetries*(?) as far as, and be few in number, we were able to take part in the Chemistry lab, very nice clean, very good explained, very good order in the Physics lab." See Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 314-317).
[375] Ministry of Education Report by H.M. Inspectors: The English Mission College, Cairo, inspected on 8th, 9th and 10th March 1949. AEDE, Bundle 49a, p. 1. On gender specific subjects in foreign and Egyptian schools, and on the normative implications of these topics with regard to the formation of a Victorian family ideal, see Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation,* 101-28.
[376] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4.2.2010 (transcript l. 168-177).
[377] On the house-system in British public schools see Walford, *Life in Public Schools*, 114-38; and concerning sports and the house-system, see Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, 146-54.
[378] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4.2.2010 (transcript l. 184).
[379] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 022-024) and Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 68-71).

Besides the regular school lessons, the English Mission College provided extracurricular activities organised in societies which usually met every fortnight. The societies were in engaged activities such as photography, chess, travel and horticulture.[380] Furthermore, there were also religious meetings such as crusader class (for Bible study and prayers), where sometimes missionaries from other missionary societies (in particular from the Egypt General Mission) were invited and in which outings were also organised.[381]

The English Mission College was a missionary school, and therefore not only secular subjects were part of the compulsory curriculum but also scripture classes, which could also be taken as an additional subject. Furthermore, the days started with devotions in the assembly hall and religious activities were promoted in the extracurricular program.[382] The parents were usually informed in advanced that the College expected the children to attend religious teaching and morning devotions.[383] Religious teaching was crucial for the self-understanding of the English Mission College as a missionary school. The teaching of Christian religion was so important for the College that the principal, together with all the teachers, decided to exclude the non-Christian students over teaching Muslim students Islam in their school (the only exceptions were the non-Christians in the top three forms).[384] This decision was taken when in 1948 the Law 38 was enforced; prohibiting the teaching of any religion other than the pupils own faith.[385] The missionaries explained this step by considering religious teaching as a necessary condition for the moral spirit characterising the College: "If the fruit of high moral tone is still to be expected, there must be the root of Christian teaching from which these ideals spring, directly or indirectly."[386]

The object of the English Mission College was to provide a good education, preparing the children for later careers. Moreover, the College emphasised its aims to contribute to character formation and religious education. Thereby they highlighted rather the formation of a virtuous character and the quality of education, when dealing with a secular or non-Christian audience,[387] while the religious aims were emphasised when the missionary friends were addressed, as this quote illustrates:

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[380] Speech Day, 1952 – Points from Boys' School for Principal's Speech, 02.05.1952. AEDE, Box 2II, File: Speech Day & Prize Giving May 2, 1952.
[381] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4.2.2010 (transcript l. 135-137 and 144-152).
[382] Timetable, EMC. 04.10.1955, AEDE, Box 35aII, File: Timetable.
[383] *Foundation Stones, 1924-1949*, 58.
[384] Draft of Minutes of the Advisory Board meeting of the English Mission College. Cairo, 14.06.1948, AEDE, Box 26 IV.
[385] Morrison, S.A.: Memo concerning Egypt Mission Conference. 04.06.1948, AEDE, Box 24bI.
[386] *Foundation Stones*, *1924-1949*, 58.
[387] Ministry of Education Report by H.M. Inspectors: The English Mission College, Cairo, inspected on 8th, 9th and 10th March 1949. AEDE, Bundle 49a, p. 1; and Letter from Martin, A.C. (Principal English Mission Col-

„But education is only a means to an end –not that an inferior education is given (…). But the sole objective is to win the boys and girls of Egypt for Christ. The spiritual results have been wonderful. Out of the 400 students in attendance about 200 are members of the Scripture Union, which means that the children have made a definite stand for Christ and witness for Him in school and home, besides reading their S. U. Bible portion each day at home."[388]

As a missionary institution, the College intended to care for the spiritual welfare of the children and hoped to contribute to the growth of the Christian church in Egypt.[389]

Due to this firm religious self-understanding, the administration of the College aimed to hire teachers who were devout Christians. The denominational affiliation was secondary.[390] Therefore, Coptic Christians also taught at the school. Retrospectively, the most famous teacher was Naẓīr Jayyid Rawfā'īl, later known as Pope Shenouda III, who taught at the EMC in the late 1940s.[391] Besides personal requirements, scholarly qualifications, such as an university degree or a teacher's diploma, were necessary to work for the College. In fact, most of the teachers at the Boys' and Girls' school held the required degrees, some even from prestigious institutions.[392] There were also teachers without a degree working at the EMC and the inspection report, evaluating the school and teachers, also noted this fact.[393]

Relations of the English Mission College

Although the English Mission College was a missionary school and was initially established in a working class neighbourhood, most of the students came from well educated and urban upper-middle class families (according to my interviewees).[394] Many of the alumni's parents had studied in Europe and they regarded many aspects -considered as European- as a model for Egypt. The school provided certain services matching the needs of this urban class, such as offering a school bus to pick up the children (already in the 1930s) or providing the stu-

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lege) to Gwynne, L. H. (Diocese of Egypt), 7th March 1930, AEDE, Box 26III (compromising a scheme of constitution for the English Mission College that should present the school for donors).

[388] Martin, *Sowers by the Nile*, 14-5.

[389] English Mission College, Cairo: Principles and Practice. 17.05.1950, AEDE, Bundle 49a.

[390] English Mission College, Cairo: Principles and Practice. 17.05.1950, AEDE, Bundle 49a.

[391] Buṭrus Fahmī mentioned him in the interview, as one of his teachers, see Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 084). Furthermore "Mr. M. G. Rofail" is listed as EMC teacher, holding a B.A. from Egypt. I assume the M. is misspelled. See English Mission College, Qubba Palace, Names of Members of the Staff: Degrees & Qualifications. n.d. [1947], AEDE, Box 37a.

[392] English Mission College, Qubba Palace, Names of Members of the Staff: Degrees & Qualifications. n.d. [1947], AEDE, Box 37a.

[393] Generally the British inspection report evaluated the quality of the teachers and their work positively and also the teachers without degree were found valuable. See Ministry of Education Report by H.M. Inspectors: The English Mission College, Cairo, inspected on 8th, 9th and 10th March 1949. AEDE, Bundle 49a, pp. 2-5.

[394] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 131-132).

dents with meals for lunch.[395] From the outset, the College tried to maintain good relations with the parents. The idea of founding an English School was actually brought up by Jewish parents who sent their children to the Sunday school of Mr. and Mrs. Martin. Furthermore, some teachers, in particular female teachers from the preparatory school, visited the parents at home in order to socialise.[396] In addition, the parents were invited to the annual speech day, along with officials of the Egyptian ministry of education, the Anglican Church, the British residency and other missionary societies.[397]

Financially, the English Mission College relied mainly on the school fees paid by the parents and did not receive any money from Britain or from the Egyptian government.[398] However, besides the fees, which accounted for the bulk of the College income, the school received donations from supporters in Egypt and abroad.[399] In an unpublished list for the building fund, dating back to the mid 1930s, some of these donors were mentioned by name. Besides Christian institutions and individuals, we find several companies, as the Shell Company of Egypt, Cairo Tramway Company, Deutsche Orient Bank or Kodak, and also notable Muslims, Jews and Egyptian Christians.[400] As regular donors in later years, we still find certain companies, but most of the contributors were individuals and institutions affiliated to the church.[401] Considering the variety of donors, I conclude that the leading motives were not only philanthropic but also economic. Companies, especially international operating ones, must have been interested in well educated people, who were as fluent in English as in Arabic, and who also knew French. The graduates from the EMC enjoyed a British education but they grew up in Egypt and knew the country. Thus they were suitable staff for the local branches of the companies.

One of the donors for the building fund was the British High Commissioner and this gives an insight into the relations with the authorities. The High Commissioner Lloyd and his successor Percy Loraine were active supporters of the College, they visited it several times and also

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[395] Martin, *Sowers by the Nile*, 17; and English Mission College: Information and Regulation for Parents. 01.11.1951, AEDE, Box 35 b.

[396] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 117); Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 124-126); and *Foundation Stones*, *1924-1949*, 42.

[397] See for example List of people to be invited to Speech Day. 02.05.1952, AEDE, Box 2II, File: Speech Day & Prize Giving May 2, 1952.

[398] In a letter we read, that the Advisory Committee of the EMC "decided to give up Government support which might cripple the religious influence of the school (…)." See Letter from Anonymous [Bishop Gwynne?] to Lord Bishop of Worcester, 16.12.1936, AEDE, Box 26 III.

[399] *Foundation Stones*, *1924-1949*, 54. In the annual report of the English Mission College of 1952-53 the balance was published and while 1076.768 L. E. were donated, 30928.576 L. E. compromised the income from school fees. See Butcher, D.C.: English Mission College Annual Report and Statement of Accounts 1952-53. January 1954, AEDE, Bundle 49a.

[400] English Mission College Faggala: Building Fund. n.d. [1935], AEDE, Box 26III.

[401] Martin, A.C.: English Mission College Annual Report and Statement of Accounts 1941-42. 24.09.1942, AEDE, Bundle 49a; and Butcher, D.C.: English Mission College Annual Report and Statement of Accounts 1946-47. 14.10.1947, AEDE, Bundle 49a.

recommended others to donate to the school. On the last page of the booklet "Sowers by the Nile", we find the following statement by Loraine: "I appeal to all who value the excellent work done by the English Mission College, and desire the extension of its activities and influence, to co-operate in enabling the College to shoulder the financial burden which its present condition and future usefulness impose."[402]

Furthermore, the College had close relations to the Bishop of the Anglican Church in Cairo, who was regularly invited as speaker on special occasions and who was also involved in fundraising. A scheme for Constitution of the EMC shows that notable persons from the British community, including a brigadier and a judge, were part of the advisory board.[403] Furthermore, high officials of the Egyptian Ministry of Education usually attended the annual Speech Day, and sometimes gave a speech.[404] With this, the College maintained connections with the Anglican Church, the British political elite and with companies operating in Egypt, but also with officials from the Egyptian government. Therefore I conclude that the EMC missionaries were well-networked with persons and institutions, which were important in the context of imperial occupied Egypt.

Still, in spite of these relations, the English Mission College had to conform to increasing government regulations such as modifications to the curriculum or requirements concerning teaching staff.[405] The missionaries did not always accept the regulations of the Egyptian government: When the parliament discussed Law 38, prohibiting the teaching of Christian religion to Muslims, Protestant missionaries from different societies used their networks to act against this law.[406] However, their efforts were in vain and they had to conform to the regulations and as a consequence the EMC decided to only teach Christian students at the school.

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[402] Martin, *Sowers by the Nile*, 19. Lloyed's recommendation is printed in the booklet „Foundation Stone", see *Foundation Stones, 1924-1949*, 54.

[403] English Mission College: Scheme for Constitution. n.d. [1930], AEDE, Box 26 IV; and English Mission College: Speech Day and Prize Giving. 02.05.1952, AEDE, Box 2II, File: Speech Day & Prize Giving May 2, 1952.

[404] English Mission College: Speech Day and Prize Giving, Thursday 10th May 1951. AEDE, Box 2II; and English Mission College: Prize Giving. 04.11.1955, AEDE, Box 2II. Furthermore, English Mission College was a member of the Foreign Schools Committee, whose meetings were sometimes opened by the Egyptian Minister of Education himself. See Foreign Schools Committee Meeting, The First Session. 16.05.1951, AEDE, Box 2 (green), Headmaster's and Headmistress' Conference Minutes.

[405] Ministry of Education Inspectorate of Social Subjects. n.d. [1950], AEDE, Box 37a (no date, but issued before the revolution 1952, since this event is not mentioned in the History section); Foreign Schools Committee, 16th, 23rd and 30th May 1951. AEDE, Box 2 (green); and Ministry of Education: Circular from the Director of Education. n.d. [1950], AEDE, Box 35b, File: Committees Perding (a regulation stating that all the teachers have to be part of the syndicate).

[406] Status concerning the Law 38, see Minutes of a meeting of the school council. English School, Cairo, 31.05.1948, AEDE, Box 26 IV; Letters to governmental authorities in Britain and the United States, see Letter from Egypt Inter-Mission Council to His Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt, 12.10.1936, AEDE, Bundle 63aI; Copy of letter from Morrison, S.A., Watson, Charles R., Martin, Helen J., King, A.C. (Egypt Inter-Mission Council) to Their Excellencies the British Ambassador and the American Minister. 12.12.1942, AEDE, Box 43bII; Minutes of the Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council on "Missions and Government". Cairo,

In the mid 1950s the EMC administration was once again reluctant to implement new requirements prescribed by the Egyptian government. The law 583, issued in 1955, and the ministerial decree of May 1956, prescribed that schools were not allowed to refuse any pupils on grounds of nationality or religion, and additionally that all children must be taught their own religion in the school.[407] In a letter to the Minister of Education, the principal of the EMC wrote that the College had accepted children regardless of their religious and national background but changed its policy due to the law 38 in 1948. He explained that Christianity was essential for the self-understanding and teaching of the college, and asked the minister, to reconsider the matter and allow the college to continue its work in the same course. He furthermore explained that, for reasons of conscience, he could not remain principal and headmaster of the school if Islam would be taught at the college.[408]

Unlike during the anti-missionary agitations in the 1930s or during the discussion on law 38 in the 1940s, the missionary societies did not cooperate closely together and activate their political network; a sign that political circumstances in Egypt had deeply changed since the revolution of 1952. However, the principal of the EMC had regular meetings and discussions with the trustees of the school and with clerics of the Anglican Church in Egypt. About a month after the American Mission in Egypt decided to cooperate with the Egyptian government under certain conditions,[409] the trustees of the English Mission College in Britain, together with the principal and teachers, decided to transfer the school to the Episcopal Church in Egypt. The new school was called Episcopal Mission College. It adapted its structures to the new law and continued its work with an Egyptian principal, a long-serving teacher at the College.[410] Although the new school continued "to function as the old school in all its activities, syllabus and methods of work",[411] for the British principle it was clear that the English Mission College had ceased to exist. He therefore resigned as principal and explained his actions in a letter to the parents:

22.01.1936, AEDE, Box 24bI; and Meeting of the Missions and Government Committee of the EIMC. Cairo, 12.06.1936, AEDE, Bundle 63aI.

[407] Meeting of the Trustees of the English Mission College. Cairo, 11.07.1956, AEDE, Bundle 49a.

[408] Letter from Butcher, D.C. to Minister of Education, Cairo, 07.08.1956, AEDE, Bundle 49a. In a very similar letter from 1953, also to the minister of education, the principal furthermore writes that the College would be happy to welcome Muslim students, as long as they do not have to be taught in their faith. See Letter from Butcher, D.C. to Minister of Education, Cairo, 05.10.1953, AEDE, Box 37a.

[409] The first sentence shows remarkably, how in this crisis the missionary societies cooperated much less. There we read: "Dear Friends, You (sic) have perhaps read in the papers a few days ago the statement that the American schools have agreed to cooperate with the Ministry of Education (…)." See Letter from The American Mission in Egypt, Sidi Bishr, to Butcher, D.C., 08.07.1956, AEDE, Box 18a.

[410] Letter from Butcher, D.C., Qubba, to Members of the Staff of the EMC, 22.08.1956, AEDE, Box 18a.

[411] Letter from Butcher, D.C., Qubba, to Parents of EMC Students, 22.08.1956, AEDE, Box 18a.

"I myself do not feel able to remain principal of a school in which I should have to authorize something with which I do not agree [i.e. teaching Islam in the school], and have resigned from my position of principal and headmaster, but I have agreed to remain as chaplain. Miss Lomas and some of the foreign staff have resigned and left the country."[412]

„Learning" and „teaching"-Relations

The British inspection report of 1951 briefly characterised the curriculum and methods of teaching at the English Mission College:

"The examination, which is taken at about a year later than in England as the girls are working in a foreign language, tends, perhaps inevitably, strongly to influence both the curriculum and the methods of teaching, but a genuine attempt is made to give the girls a liberal education as far as time and circumstances allow."[413]

Missionaries working in educational institutions in Egypt, but also experts evaluating the Egyptian school system, often lamented that teaching and learning in Egyptian schools focused on the examinations at the end of the year.[414] As a result of the statement of the British inspection report, the curriculum and the methods of the English Mission College were also influenced by examinations but there were still efforts made to provide a liberal education.[415] Following these two rather contradictory claims, I would like to examine how the students experienced education at their school. Thereby different types of "teaching" and "learning"-relations are studied and related categories and sub-categories explored.

All the English Mission alumni who I have asked about their school-time were very satisfied with the education they received. It is remarkable that they particularly view the learning of certain characteristics and values as the crucial impact of the school. In contrast the knowledge in certain subjects as aquired in regular classes is a comparably minor topic in the interviews. However, the direct tuition of school knowledge and the instructions of particular behaviours are addressed in certain contexts.[416] The interviewees mentioned particular school

[412] Letter from Butcher, D.C., Qubba, to Parents of EMC Students, 22.08.1956, AEDE, Box 18a.
[413] Ministry of Education Report by H.M. Inspectors: The English Mission College, Cairo, inspected on 8th, 9th and 10th March 1949. AEDE, Bundle 49a, p. 2. Since the structures of the Boys' and Girls' school were very similar, I assume that this statement was valid for the whole EMC.
[414] Criswell, "Why Christian Schools?," 11 and Mann, F. O.: Report on Certain Aspects of Egyptian Education Rendered to his Excellency, the Minister of Education at Cairo. July 1929, ACE, Box 43c, pp. 144-146.
[415] On the history and developments of liberal education (however, rather for the American and University context) see Kimball, "A Historical Perspective"; and on the principles of liberal education see also Ryan, *Liberal Anxieties and Liberal Education*, 26-41.
[416] The philosopher and pedagogue John Dewey defines this kind of direct schooling and teaching by instructions as formal education. He notes that in formal education the "task of teaching certain things is delegated to a special group of persons" and is characterised by "direct tuition or schooling." See Dewey, *Democracy and Education,* 11-2.

subjects when evaluating the quality of the school and the usefulness of the subjects taught.[417] One of the alumni critically noted that they were taught British history and geography, which had no real relevance for her as an Egyptian student.[418] Another former student explained that it was due to the good biology and science classes that he decided to study medicine: "as far as I am concerned, they made me love living things. And this was a factor that made me go to medicine. I used to love seeing a bird, a rabbit, a plant, all these are living things and this is what made me go into medicine, you see? And actually I developed this likeness and this interest at school."[419]

Furthermore, the teaching of the scripture as being part of the formal education is described by all interviewed alumni. A Muslim student for instance explained that he liked the scripture classes because the teacher taught the Bible in an entertaining manner. Christian students highlighted that scripture was tested in a similar way to other school subjects.[420] The teaching of foreign languages and of English in particular, was also part of the direct schooling; furthermore, as English was the language of the school, it was also an element shaping everyday life at school.[421] Moreover, the teaching of conceptions of cleanliness and of hygienic practices, although not part of the official curriculum, was taught by instruction and correction and can be therefore also regarded as part of the formal education.[422]

Examinations were an important part of direct schooling and also offer insights into the teaching of a school or, more precisely, how the students were expected to learn the subjects. Asked how they studied for tests and if learning by heart was a dominant method, the EMC alumnus Buṭrus Fahmī answered:

> Buṭrus Fahmī: (laughing) No, it was not learning by heart. It was not learning by heart. But it was learning, for example when you teach ahm for example one of Shakespeare's novels, The Tempest for example, you have to learn it, you don't study it by heart, but you were given quotations, who said this, who said the other, what was the meaning, the significance, whatever. For example in geography you had to study the Nile basin. And various parts of the Nile, the countries of the Nile, products grown at the Nile that sort of things. And physics of course, physics and chemistry are obvious, they have a certain curriculum, there is no problem in that. But that's how (k) no we were taken (k) we took the text or book and studied it. It's not exactly learn by heart and spit it out, no, this was

[417] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 48-50).
[418] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 339-340). A similar criticism on the inappropriateness of certain parts of the syllabus in foreign schools in Egypt, see Salāma, *Tārikh al-taʿlīm al-ajnabī fī Miṣr*, 126-32.
[419] Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 082).
[420] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 159-165); and Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 01. 02. 2010 (transcript l. 007-009).
[421] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 75-78, 383-391); and Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 022).
[422] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 48-51).

not the usual issue. Of course at some parts you had to learn by heart, but other parts you have to understand.[423]

Explaining the different modes of studying at the English Mission College, Buṭrus Fahmī highlights that the manner of learning was related to the respective subject. Following his statement, three different modes of knowledge acquisition and presentation can be distinguished: learning by heart, learning by understanding and a combination of learning certain topics and reflecting upon them. Although there were certain matters that had to be learned, rote learning was not the dominant way of knowledge acquisition.[424] The emphasis was rather on learning by understanding which he puts in contrast to learning by heart. In other parts of the interview he uses this contrast to distinguish his schools from other schools. When he went to medical school, he found that former students of French schools had an advantage, since they were more used to rote learning than he was: "You know that in University, use your brain is very good, but you have to study. So they studied better, *they studied better* (laughing) (…)".[425] Furthermore, he believes that unlike in today's government schools, the teachers endeavoured to explain and make the topics understandable.[426]

In order to induce students to learn by understanding, teachers cannot expect to deposit the knowledge like into a bank account, but have to sequence, exemplify and adapt the knowledge to the previous knowledge of the students.[427] Although the teacher played an important role in the process of explanation (which is a propriety of learning by understanding), the students were not passive recipients, but subjects who actively integrated the new information into their knowledge structures, thereby giving meaning to the learned matter in a broader context. While in rote learning the acquired knowledge appears remote, artificial and abstract (Buṭrus Fahmī says "learn by heard and spit it out"), the learned matter transmutes into a part of the self by the processes of understanding.[428]

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[423] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 01. 02. 2010 (transcript l. 056).
[424] Learning by heart was e.g. in scripture class also important, where the students were expected to learn certain Bible verses by heart. See Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 010).
[425] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 01. 02. 2010 (transcript l. 143-146).
[426] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 01. 02. 2010 (transcript l. 061).
[427] Paulo Freire uses the picture of "banking education" and opposes it to the "problem-posing education". In the "banking education" the students are conceptualised as passive recipient of knowledge, they are filled by an active teacher with knowledge, remote of their experience, like empty vessels. Freire on the other hand propagates a problem posing education, where students are critically involved in the learning process; teacher and student approach a problem together and work together to solve the problem. See Freire, *Pädagogik der Unterdrückten,* 57-70. Although learning by understanding was important at the English Mission College, we cannot conclude that there was no "banking education" at all or that the teachers were practicing a "problem-posing education". For such an evaluation more sources on the EMC pedagogy and classroom experiences would be needed.
[428] Reflections on understanding and rote learning of western knowledge in the Indian colonial context, see Seth, "Changing the Subject," 673-6.

Further methods of learning can be found in extracurricular activities, where mostly older students were willing to experiment with different ways of learning. In crusader class, a religious extracurricular activity, the students did not only study the Bible and learn hymns, but also learned how to lead a service. On so-called senior Sundays, the prayer was not lead by a teacher, but by a senior boy or girl who also prepared the preaching for this event.[429] By doing so, the students could orientate themselves according to the teachers' models and gain experience by practicing the activities themselves. Besides this learning by doing for senior students, the attendants of the crusader class tried to deepen their religious knowledge in other ways:

Janet Yaʿqūb: (...) We also had what they called "Desert Island Sunday". That meant, that there were no Bibles, we didn't have Bibles with us and we didn't have hymnbooks, and we just have a service, it's like being thrown on a desert island. And you have nothing with you, so you produce what you have in your head. And this of course also helped that we study the Bible and study big hymns and and if you are on this island, what will you do, you have no books.[430]

The "Desert Island Sunday" served as a means for the students to realise what they already knew and what they did not know. In a way it was the situation of an examination, but without grades, aiming to motivate the students to discover and fill their knowledge gaps in religion by themselves.

The extracurricular activities, religious or secular, were not part of the ordinary schooling at the English Mission College. Still, considering the quoted statement of inspection report that genuine attempts are made to provide a liberal education, the extracurricular activities must have been part of the education concepts.[431] For the students, at least retrospectively, these activities transgressed the program of ordinary schooling:

Interviewer: And, what do you think, was the function, why did they do this extracurricular activities?

Buṭrus Fahmī: Well, it's very important. You know, it is not (k) school is not something that you study and study by heart and that's all. It's an education, it's a rounded education. You need to have, other knowledge besides the subjects physics, biology and mathematics. You need to have some overview of some (short pause) of some social activities. So that will make you a rounded character, not a bookish character, just learn by heard and recite and that's it. They were essential for our (k) I mean they did have an effect on us. To give us a rounded view of life.[432]

According to Buṭrus Fahmī knowledge acquisition in regular school subjects is only a part of what he calls "a rounded education". While mere school knowledge might appear detached

[429] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 137-139).
[430] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 148).
[431] Unfortunately the body of written source material is very scarce, when it comes to secular extracurricular activities. What I found was only a note in a speech day-documents.
[432] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 01. 02. 2010 (transcript l. 40-43).

from the reality,[433] and barely of significance for the experience and life of the students, the "rounded education" broadened the students' horizon. They learned to view the world from different perspectives and experienced more than "bookish" aspects of life. Considering the extracurricular activities available to them, the students could discover art and their artistic abilities (in the art and in the photography society), become acquainted with nature and develop practical skills (in horticultural society) or come to better know their country (in the travel society). These activities, which were also social activities, allowed the students to develop a rounded view of life.

Furthermore, Buṭrus Fahmī claims that this "rounded education" also had an impact on the students' personality. In fact, the English Mission College regarded "character education" as an important educational object, and following the statements of all the interviewed alumni, not only the extracurricular activities, but education at the College in general was crucial for the development of their personality. Thereby the categories "teaching" and "learning" are closely associated with the category "character" and regarding the sources both are in close relation with the categories "morality" and "values". In the written sources, but also in the interviews, the teaching is of (moral) value and is associated with behaviour and modes of being. Therefore values, moral values in particular, are regarded as part of a person's habitual structure, or, expressed in the term of the sources, of the "character".[434] Thereby the teaching of values and virtues is generally remembered as being of crucial importance within the College's educational mission:

> Aḥmad Rafīq: The principle of the school was basically to teach us (short pause) to be, very very ahm self dependent, very honest, and not be afraid to (k) I mean whenever there was something, we would speak up to the teacher. I mean, if you made a mistake, you would say it's a mistake.[435]

Aḥmad Rafīq mentions the teaching of values and characteristics -honesty, self-dependence, courage and critical faculty- and implies (by the changing the subject from they to we) that they actually had made these values their own. Additionally to these virtues of a liberal education the alumni generally associate respect, friendliness, open-mindedness (in particular towards other religious communities), but also discipline, orderliness and cleanliness with their

[433] Freire, *Pädagogik der Unterdrückten,* 57-60.
[434] In written sources for example: Ministry of Education Report by H.M. Inspectors: The English Mission College, Cairo, inspected on 8th, 9th and 10th March 1949. AEDE, Bundle 49a, p. 1, and *Foundation Stones, 1924-1949*, 66- 8. Following Pierre Bourdieu, his concept of habitus is "very similar to what was traditionally called character, but with a very important difference: the habitus, as the Latin indicates, is something non natural, a set of acquired characteristics which are the product of social conditions and which, for that reason, may be totally or partially common to people who have been the product of similar social conditions." See Bourdieu, "Habitus," 44-5.
[435] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 2-5).

education.[436] All the alumni consider the values learnt at their school as having been important in their life. Furthermore, the morality taught at school is generally regarded as completely compatible with the values learned at home.[437] Therefore some interviewees sometimes only speak about "values" without further specification, because they consider these values common sense.[438] Many of the values mentioned can also be found in the written sources of the English Mission College as ideals for character education.[439]

Values and virtues are imparted in different manner to ordinary school knowledge and practical skills. Thereby implicit or explicit rules and regulations, which prevail in the educational space and the social relations, are often closely associated with the teaching of values. The reason for this association lies in the close formal relation between values or virtues to rules. Rules prescribe certain modes of actions and behaviours and establish norms, which function as guiding line for judging the conformity of actions. For instance, in the heart of a value such as "honesty" lie rules such as "you shall not tell lies".

My interviewees are well aware that the school, the teachers, and the relations at school had had an impact on their habitus and values system, but they have difficulties in describing the learning process:

> Janet Yaʿqūb: But you felt the spirit of the school. This was something strange. So, very often in a home, you just learn by example. You see, ahm, but you can't really put your finger on, how it came to you and how you became what you are.[440]

Janet Yaʿqūb regards the "spirit of the school" (which will be discussed in a further section) and "learning by example" as crucial for the learning and teaching process to have an impact on the personality.

"Learning by example" can mean that the teachers, and the ways they spoke and acted, served as a model to the students. However, it could also imply that the students learnt from exemplary situations or from examples which the teachers prepared, in order to infer general rules for the own life. In both cases, the meaning of "learning by example" is very similar to what

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[436] Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 044 and 050); Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 01. 02. 2010 (transcript l. 128 and 132-133); Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 241-265; 278-285 and 496-500); and Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 187-200).

[437] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 039-040); Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 140-141); Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 525-533); and Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 483-500).

[438] For example Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 141 and 167).

[439] English Mission College, Cairo: Principles and Practice. 17.05.1950, AEDE, Bundle 49a; *Foundation Stones, 1924-1949*, 67; and Gwynne, L. H.: Opening of the new English Mission Colleges: Bishop's Speech. n.d. [1936], AEDE, Box 26 IV.

[440] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 323).

John Dewey calls "learning by sharing in the pursuits of grown-ups",[441] where learning and teaching processes are rooted in the practices and experiences of everyday life.

In fact, the interviewees often illustrate, how they were taught values and virtues, by mentioning examples of particular situations and experiences. In these examples, the interactions described, and the personal interpretation of the event, provide a practical sense for rules and values.[442] Thereby we have to consider that the remembered event must not coincide with the actual event. It is fractured by memories of similar experiences and by reinterpretations of the depicted event. Still, it is this process of re-telling and re-interpretation that contributes to the biographic significance of the event and, furthermore, also exemplifies what the specific value means on a subjective level.[443] For instance, Aḥmad Rafīq several times cites self-dependence as an important value he learned at the English Mission College and he replies to the question of what self-dependence meant with the following example:

Aḥmad Rafīq: └we (k) very yes. They taught us to be self dependent
Interviewer: └but what does this mean?
Aḥmad Rafīq: I mean for instance, I remember one of the cases, I was asked by you *know* (sustained), we were not ready to take an exam, we had previous tests before, we had an Arabic test, and we could not actually study for it. So we all decided, that we are not going to write that test. So it makes quite *difficult* (?). And of course the master very very very (.), and he tried to ask each boy separately questions, you know, so that he could give us a marks and make the other jealous and say ok, I will say something. No way. And he ahm (k) at that time I was prefect and they asked me to go down and see the headmaster to tell him, that we refuse to take that exam. And I went down to the headmaster, I remember his name was Mr. Haven. He was ex-colonel in the British Army. And he told, well son, what is it this time? I said, such and such and such a thing happened. He said, go up and tell your master that you are old enough to decide, what is good for you. You see? So I went up and told the master. And he told me, what did he tell you about that. So when all the children made all heeeyyy, he left the class. So they taught us, that we have to be, feel to do what you feel is right. And we took that test later. And we all did very well. We did actually study for it, this gave us some time because we were not prepared and it was an important test to be marked for the year's work. So we didn't want to just loose points for nothing. So I think there are many many many incidents like that which showed us that or taught us, not to be afraid, not to be afraid.[444]

The situation Aḥmad Rafīq describes is common in everyday school life: the students want to postpone a test, since they do not feel prepared; the teacher however wants to conduct the exam. Since the students and the teacher could not come to an agreement (and here it is notably

[441] Dewey, *Democracy and Education,* 11. Dewey calls this kind of education "informal education" and contrasts it with "formal education", which takes place in an institutionalised setting, following a curriculum with defined learning objectives and systematic instructions. See Dewey, *Democracy and Education,* 9-13.
[442] Bourdieu, *Praktische Vernunft*, 41-2.
[443] Broda, "Erfahrung, Erinnerungsinterview and Gender" 161-3 and Canning, "Problematische Dichotomien," 50-1.
[444] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 234-265).

that the teacher did not want or could not force the students to take the test), the school hierarchy became relevant to solve the problem. Aḥmad's discussion with the headmaster is the climax of his narrative and the core for his illustration of the meaning of self-dependence. The headmaster, though a former army officer, did not demand blind obedience to the teacher, but took the students' matter seriously. With a fatherly attitude ("well son, what is it this time?") he listened to the students' concern. Apparently he found the students' arguments reasonable and awarded him the maturity to decide for himself. Furthermore, the encounter between the headmaster and Aḥmad Rafīq gives insight into the relations between students and school authorities: Although there were hierarchies and, as all the interviews noted, strict rules, the students and their concerns were taken seriously and there was room for the discussion of disagreements. Referring to this experience, Aḥmad Rafīq concludes "they taught us (…) to do what you feel is right" (and considering the whole narrative we have to add, "when you have good reasons for your action"). He subsequently associated this concept of self-dependence with having the courage to express opinions and demands and with not being afraid of authority.

Teaching, Values and Discipline

Exploring the microphysics of powers operating within the English Mission College, I will first focus on a category which seems to contradict the analyzed "self-dependence" of the last section; namely "discipline". In this section I will explore the relations between "teaching" and "discipline" and study both how disciplinary mechanisms worked and how they were experienced by the students. Subsequently, I will examine how "discipline" is associated with "education" and "teaching" and examine the meaning of these categories for the cultural entanglements in a contact zone.

In the opening speech of the new EMC school-building in Qubba, the Anglican Bishop Gwynne stated:

"(…) this College possesses a large staff of men and women who, though they belong to no special religious community – they are not monks or nuns, are filled with the spirit of religion and have left home and home ties in England to bring character, efficiency, discipline and religion into the lives of these boys and girls committed to their care."[445]

Following the bishop, the British teachers' task was not to teach knowledge in the first place, but rather to form the children's behaviour and modes of action, in one word, their habitus.

[445] Gwynne, L. H.: Opening of the new English Mission Colleges: Bishop's Speech. n.d. [1936], AEDE, Box 26 IV.

Thereby he names discipline and efficiency as important values and mentions them together with religion and character. In fact, discipline is remembered as an important value by the alumni but it was also a form of power, shaping the everyday life at school. As a type of power, discipline is characterised by aiming to normalise human behaviour in accordance with a prescriptive and ideal model.[446] The subjects are trained by various techniques, such as by a micro-economy of punishments and rewards, by strict surveillance and by submission to a timetable. These techniques aim to produce a conforming behaviour and to develop the subjects will for this conformity.[447] We find such disciplinary structures in the everyday life in the English Mission College.

Rule adherence was of crucial importance at the EMC and misbehaviour was sanctioned with a system of punishments:

> Aḥmad Rafīq: (…) I mean, ok they were very severe and strict, we did something wrong we were punished, we had something called detention, detention you kept at the school some time, you came on a Saturday morning, it was a holiday, to sit down at the class, and started writing, I must that, I must not do that, I must behave, 200 times maybe. Or we were kept for one hour as a detention. If you had three detentions, then you could be caned by the headmaster. Ok, it was the caning, you see? But that was very very very rare. You have to be (short pause) (k) and ahm then they would send a letter eventually if you are that misbehaving they would send a letter to your parents."[448]

Extra exercise, detention, informing the child's parents and corporal punishment were means to establish discipline at the English Mission College. The practice of these punishments was widespread in British schools also in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century.[449]

Rules of conduct structured the educational space at the EMC. The obedience to these rules was observed by seniors, since surveillance is crucial to maintaining discipline. Classrooms, for example, were defined as spaces of learning and had their own specific rules, such as the prohibition of eating in the room.[450] Different rules dominated the assembly hall, where the devotion in the morning took place, or the school yard, where the children could play, eat their snack and relax. However, also during the break-time the students were obliged to speak English (not Arabic or French), and the prefects had the duty of supervising the younger students.[451] Furthermore, the students had to wear a school uniform and prefects as well as

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[446] Foucault, "Vorlesung zur Analyse der Macht–Mechanismen 1978," 8; and Foucault, *Überwachen und Strafen,* 173-250.
[447] Foucault, *Überwachen und Strafen,* 41-3; Sarasin, *Michel Foucault zur Einführung,* 128-42; and Marti, *Michel Foucault,* 83-97.
[448] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 11-18).
[449] Parker-Jenkins, "Sparing the Rod," 146-7; and Middleton, "The Experience of Corporal Punishment in Schools, 1890-1940," 253-75.
[450] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 190-192).
[451] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 382-388).

teachers checked if this uniform was clean and properly worn, hence promoting the normalised appearance of all students.[452] The teachers also observed the cleanliness of the students by regularly checking the hair and hands of the children and they aimed to accustom the children to hygienic practices.[453]

From a disciplinary point of view, the prefect's position in the school hierarchy fulfilled two functions. Firstly, they observed the rule adherence of younger students and corrected misbehaviour in the absence of a teacher.[454] Secondly, being a prefect was an honour, since in this function they received responsibility, which implied a higher rank in the school hierarchy. Furthermore, this position promoted an identification with the school and its values. Prefects served as role models for proper behaviour to the younger students and were therefore motivated to abide by the rule themselves. Being a prefect promoted the self-discipline of the student who had this role as a misbehaving prefect would be a great shame.[455]

The English Mission College knew a system of reward and punishment, which was closely connected to the house-system. This system was important for the organisation of school sports but also held an identity-establishing and disciplinary function:

Janet Yaʿqūb: Four houses and we were given, I don't know about the boys, they had four houses too, but but ahm for us there was pluses and minuses, for work and for conduct. If your work was good, you got a plus and these were added up, and at the end of the term, you would say ahm: for instance Catherine House won the conduct cup. Or Nightingale House won the *work*(?) cup. So, (k) because in each class, each student was given either a plus or a minus, depending on weather they didn't do their work they get a minus, if you did do your work you had a plus, depending on how good the work was, maybe that plus 2 or plus 3 or, minus 5 or you know? And ah a minus 5 meant detention. If you had a minus 5 in something, then that meant detention, that meant you come on Saturday, for an hour and ah as a punishment.
Interviewer: So it was not only in your own interest to be good, but also
Janet Yaʿqūb: └for the house. These houses were also important for the sports, or weren't they
Interviewer: └yes, yes
Nadia Yaʿqūb: └there was the house-captain and the games-captain, for each house.[456]

[452] English Mission College: Information and Regulation for Parents. 01.11.1951, AEDE, Box 35b; and Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 37-42).
[453] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 31-50).
[454] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 423-428); and Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 37-42). On the function of the prefect in the British elite schools, see Nash, "Training an Elite," 14-21.
[455] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 429-449).
[456] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 375-390). Nadia Yaʿqūb is the younger sister of Janet Yaʿqūb. She also went to the English Mission College and continued at the same school after 1956. Nadia Yaʿqūb was during most of the time present when I was interviewing Janet Yaʿqūb and sometimes also shared her memories.

This point system, rewarding efforts in work and conduct and punishing misconduct, aimed to motivate the students to perform well and behave according to the prescribed rules. As the children belonged to one of the houses, the obligation to perform well had more than just an individual significance. Hence, this system aimed to promote the students' sense of responsibility, not only to perform well and to be well-behaved for their own sake, but also for the house's sake. Therefore this house-system encouraged the loyalty towards the house the student belonged to and established a team spirit, which was additionally strengthened by sports and by the pride of winning the house-cup. Furthermore, identification with the respective house was associated with the school in general and therefore promoted acceptance of the school's values and objects. Thus both the house system and the point system were part of the techniques characterising disciplinary power at the EMC.

Despite these disciplinary structures and techniques, all the former English Mission College students I talked to remember the discipline, and the school in general, in a positive manner. It is important to highlight that it is not Foucault's elaborate notion of disciplinary power my interviewees describe when they speak about "discipline", but rather a notion from everyday language meaning respect towards authorities, observing the regulations and receiving punishments for misconduct. The EMC alumni regard the amount of discipline at their school as beneficial for their learning:

Interviewer: There was (k) which are the main values you link to the EMC besides discipline
Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf: └look, look look. There is (k) I mean everyone does mistakes. And they taught us to say sorry, I did that mistake. And they taught us to say thank you, if they give us something. You see. These are wonderful values, when you say, I am sorry I did that mistake. Of course we did mistakes at that time and till today we do mistakes and you do mistakes. But it's nice to say I am sorry. And they taught us this and they taught us say thank you, when you give me something, and these are the values. Discipline was good, it wasn't ahm (reflecting) I mean it wasn't that strict discipline that would you make dislike school. No. It was a discipline that made us like school. We liked (k) used to like going to school. We used to like sharing the school. Well, this is how it was at the time.[457]

Discipline is mentioned along with the values gratefulness and critical faculty. Ṣalāḥ regard all these values as important for life, and associate them with the teaching (repeatedly "they taught us") at the College. All three values shaped a certain attitude and produced certain modes of action in specific situations ("if X, you say/do Y"). Ṣalāḥ distinguishes between two kinds of discipline: the strict discipline and the motivating discipline. Strict discipline, which can be understood as a confining system of rules combined with harsh punishments, would

[457] Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 068-070). Discipline as a system of necessary punish to keep order at school, see Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 112-114).

spoil the joy of learning and of going to school. However, Ṣalāḥ experienced the discipline at school as a motivating kind of discipline. The teachers are described as passionate and patient, but as having strict rules concerning certain matters, such as unexcused absence from school.[458]

A further value is frequently mentioned in the context of disciplinary sanctions: honesty. According to all my interviewees, honesty is considered one of the core values taught at the English Mission College, as this quote illustrates:

> Aḥmad Rafīq: (…) And that was the main principle of the English School that means, to teach us, to be, you know, dependent on ourselves, and always to speak the truth and not to be afraid of saying whatever you wanted to say.
> Interviewer: So, honesty was a very
> Aḥmad Rafīq: └honesty was the main thing. Honesty was the main thing. And I mean we had several (.) for instance if you were caught cheating and you admitted all your paper, the master taught that you, that was cheated and you got to be excused. And he asked you, and when you said yes, I did that I cheated, he would not really punish you all the time. He made it (.) and warned you, not to do this again. He would *mark you* (?), but he won't actually send you down to the headmaster or make a big fuss out, you know. So they taught how to (k) not to be afraid, I mean, if you did a mistake say yes sir, I did that mistake. Not to lie, you know be afraid, that's really (k) that was mainly the principle.[459]

In the context of the English Mission College, not only Aḥmad Rafīq but also other alumni associate honesty with cheating on exams or homework, which was forbidden and sanctioned.[460] Students were encouraged to tell the truth. If a student was caught cheating and he admitted his fault, he would be punished to a lesser extent. In minor cases, or if the misconduct happened for the first time, teachers would warn the repentant student and would later punish him in the case of further misconduct. The school aimed to encourage the students to always tell the truth and to develop a greater resistance to dishonesty rather than a fear of punishment.[461] Therefore honesty was learned as a moral value but was also practiced as mild but efficient form of discipline. The internalised obligation to tell the truth facilitated the teacher's control and also shaped an attitude of self-control. This aspect of individual self-guidance within a normative frame (honesty) was a completely different disciplinary power then the disciplinary techniques prevalent, for example, in barracks. It was a much more subtle form,

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[458] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 357-362); and concerning absence also: English Mission College: Information and Regulation for Parents. 01.11.1951, AEDE, Box 35 b.
[459] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 18-31).
[460] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 128); Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 068-070); and Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 010-012).
[461] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 010-012).

producing conforming subjects who considered themselves as self-dependent and not afraid of authorities.

Although corporal punishment was also practiced at the English Mission College, the alumni generally evaluate the system of punishment as just and reasonable.[462] The teachers did not punish the students arbitrarily; they sanctioned according to the misconduct. The children usually knew why they received their punishment since the teachers explained the reasons for the sanction. Therefore, one interviewee prefers to describe the disciplinary measures as corrections rather than as punishment.[463]

For any reflection on punishment and discipline at school, an insight into the teacher-student-relationship is crucial. On the one hand, the teachers are remembered as strict and willing to punish misconduct consequently and on the other, the children respected the teachers but were not afraid of them (they were even taught not to be afraid).[464] One reason why the students were not afraid of the teachers lies in the communication: the reasons for punishment were explained and the teachers were open to discussion. The students were able to speak up to the teachers if they disagreed with a certain issue and the teachers would listen to their reasons.[465] In these contexts, the interviewees also mention the teaching of self-dependence as one principle of the school.[466]

Religion and Character in Education

Christian religion was a crucial part of the educational concept and is highlighted in the objectives of the English Mission College. Therefore, the educational role of religion in the school lies in the focus of this section. I will study how the evangelical character of the school affected the relations between students of different religious backgrounds and how it influenced the student-teacher relations. Exploring the connection between "religion" and "values" or "char-

[462] A critical note concerning remembering punishments: Middleton critical wrties in his article on the experience of corporal punishment in schools that alumni, who deemed their form of schooling as privileged, were retrospectivly less critical of their punishment experiences. All English Mission College alumni regard their school as a privileged form of education, so they might in fact have experienced their punishment differently then they remember it decades later. See Middleton, "The Experience of Corporal Punishment in Schools, 1890-1940," 257-8.

[463] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 027-035).

[464] Respect, see Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 238-240); and Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 192-200). Concerning teaching not to be afraid, see Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 1-3).

[465] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 3-21).

[466] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 3); and Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 132). Also in a booklet printed for the 25th jubilee of the English Mission College, parents are quoted, who evaluate the school and say: "Although they had to rely on themselves, they still had to respect their parents, teachers and older people." See *Foundation Stones, 1924-1949*, 67.

acter", I will ask, if and how these missionary schools had an impact on their personal conception of religion of the alumni. Finally, I will examine which values and virtues the students associate with their former school.

The importance of Christianity manifested itself in the daily prayers and the regular scripture classes of the English Mission College. Since religion was an integral part of everyday life, it was addressed by all my interviewees. However, their accounts stand in sharp contrast to the allegation raised during the anti-missionary agitations in the beginning of the 1930s (see Chapter 1.3), which portrayed missionary schools as institutions of coercion and indoctrination. The EMC alumni, both Christians and Muslims, characterise the atmosphere in their school as friendly, especially when speaking about interreligious relations. Muslim alumni highlight that they also had good Jewish friends at school.[467] Considering the present political discourses revolving around Israel and Jews in the Arab world, the emphasis on having Jewish friends implicitly enforces the picture of harmonious interreligious relations and of the liberal spirit that influenced their mentality.[468] Hence, students made friends at school regardless of the religious background, and many of their friendships outlived their school-time for decades.

According to the statements of the Muslim interviewees, religious background did not matter in their relations to the teachers and they always felt equally treated and respected. However, this equality implied that they had to attend scripture classes, as the Jewish and Christian students did, and one of them even attended devotions in the morning. Still, they did not mind the teaching of Christian religion and neither did their parents who were informed the religious content but did not consider it as harmful for their children.[469] Both of the Muslim interviewees enjoyed scripture class and were among the best:

Aḥmad Rafīq: (…) But you see we were Muslims and Christians and Jewish lived together, we played together, we we (k) there was no no no no (short pause) any religion conflict ever between us. I mean ahm
Interviewer: So you were just equal students

[467] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 141-147); and Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 043-044).
[468] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 473-482).
[469] "*Interviewer*: What do you think, in which way was it a disadvantage a disadvantage that you had many foreign teachers? *Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf*: Look, we (short pause) when we (k) when I went to the school, my father knew that the teachers were English, my father knew that this was a missionary school, and I even asked my father, and he told me of this missionary school, and they even asked my father, and told him this is as missionary school, and my father said, let my son attend all the scripture lessons there is no harm from that. And ahm we had Egyptians masters, teaching us Arabic and Mr. Girgis was Egyptian and he taught us Geography. There was no disadvantage of having foreign teachers at the time." See Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 100-101).

Aḥmad Rafīq: └equal exactly. That's why we grew as a very, very open minded, very friendly,
Interviewer: └you were also treated all equally by the teachers?
Aḥmad Rafīq: └all equally by the teacher. Yes, all equally by the teachers. There was no (short pause) discrimination I mean of this one or this on or that one, or this was given any extra points, there are not (k) on the contrary everybody was (k) I was first or second in Scripture. Despite the problem that I am a Muslim. But ahm (k) and Jewish people. But ahm it was a subject like any other subject, you see?[470]

It is noteworthy, that Aḥmad Rafīq makes a causal connection between interreligious respect and the development of certain characteristics, namely openmindedness and friendliness. Both characteristics have positive connotations. Therefore, these positive interreligious experiences at the English Mission College were regarded as promoting a spirit of tolerance and respect which shaped the worldview and values of the former students. Furthermore, considering these experiences and the positive evaluation Scripture class by Muslim students, I conclude that the religious teaching at the school did not involve polemics against other religions or religious groups. According to a Christian alumnus, the school did have a Protestant touch but the teachers were not biased and the atmosphere was "decent and without using any strong language against any other person."[471]

Although the Muslims students emphasised the interreligious respect of their education and that they felt equally treated by the teachers, they were aware that the school had an evangelising mission, or as Aḥmad Rafīq expressed it, "(…) you know they didn't *enforce* (emphasised) you to to to become a Christian or to convert, but they have this concept, they would gladly spend hand to you, if you showed any interest in, in the Christian religion I mean as a Christian."[472] This last clause ("I mean as a Christian"), which does not logically fit with the rest of the sentence, shows the ambivalence of Muslim students dealing with the evangelistic ambitions of the English Mission College. Despite all the loyalty and high esteem toward their former school, they did not allow the missionaries to interfere with their religious identity. Both interviewees express their Muslim identity with the sentence "I am a Muslim" at one point of the interview and in both cases it is in a context of dealing with the Christian character of the school.[473]

[470] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 145-156).
[471] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 119).
[472] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l.436-438).
[473] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 156); and Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 044).

Furthermore, they firmly denied that the religious education and practices at school had any influence on their own Muslim religiosity.[474] The Muslim students regarded scripture class as a school subject that was interesting and valuable as they got to know Christianity better. Moreover, they liked it, because they both got good grades in scripture class:

Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf: (...) And I was very pleased to attend Scripture and I took Scripture as a main subject in my final examination. Yes.
Interviewer: Interesting.
Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf: Yes, yes yes. No problem.
Interviewer: What was your focus then, can you remember?
Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf: No, there was no (short pause) certain focus, but I took it as a subject in order to get good grades in it and we were well founded, we had a good basis of the Bible at the time, and ahm it was good. I did not at all mind it. It was very good.
Interviewer: Do you think ahm (k) well in the English Mission College the missionaries they practiced a certain religiosity. This ahm evangelical kind of religiosity, where the Scripture is very important, and prayers are very important, the personal relation to God is very important, that's as far as I know that's their values. Do you
Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf: └But all what you're saying, excuse me to interrupt you, is excellent. If it, if it if it ahm endorse upon you anything is good, good goodness, good will and being a good person, I mean it's very good, I mean why not?[475]

To regard Scripture class as school subject like any other can be considered as a strategy to retain the Muslim identity. Christian religion becomes to a certain form of knowledge, which can be acquired in a similar way as any other school subject.[476] This primarily intellectual involvement creates a distance to the spiritual and emotional aspects of Christianity and secularises it by transforming religion to a mere matter of knowledge.

In the second part of the interview excerpt, an insightful interaction occurs which leads to the topic of the role of morality. While I was describing religious practices and concepts essential for Evangelicals in order to ask Ṣalāḥ if he thought this kind of religiosity influenced him, he interrupts me, praises this form of religiosity and links it with moral goodness. Muslim students might have rationalised religious education to a pure knowledge in order to protect their religious identity. However, this interaction shows that they still link religious aspects of their school with morality, with "being a good person". In a similar way, Aḥmad Rafīq considers morality as an essential part of religion; monotheistic religions, he says, "all meet around one point: you got to be honest, you should not steal, you must not lie, you must do that, not do

[474] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l.183-187).
[475] Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 032-039).
[476] This intellectual involvement was promoted in the scripture tests, where the students were asked to answer the question and not to preach. See Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 007).

that."[477] In this conception, morality underlies religion in general and therefore moral principles learnt at school did not differ from those learnt at home.

The Christian students of the English Mission College also associated religious education and practices with morality. However, the religious spirit was not limited to a moral education but was moreover experienced in interpersonal relationships. Christians consider the religious dimension as valuable for their life of faith and regard the close and personal relations with the teachers as important for their religious education:

Janet Yaʿqūb: (...) And so, with my home upbringing, and the school, it helped us to know our standard as Christians and trying to live by them. Another thing I remember very well at school, if someone corrected me or rebuked me, I would be very ashamed, and my face would show it. I didn't mean to, they called it sulking, you know, you know what sulking means? It means, well how can you explain sulking, when you don't smile, you keep a straight face. And ahm, one (k) I didn't mean to be like that, but it was some kind of embarrassment that, it took me a long time to recover, after someone said, I did something wrong, you know? It took me a long time to recover. And so one of the teachers told my mother about that. To the extend, that if something happened at home, and I was upset, I would go and practise smiling in front of the mirror, so mother would not (laughing)

Interviewer: └(laughing) *notice*

Janet Yaʿqūb: └notice that I was, that I was wrong. And one of the teachers told me: you know a Christian should be smiling. They shouldn't have a long face. And you want to show people that you are a Christian, so you shouldn't have a long face. So this is how you know they, ahm what they taught, they also tried to encourage you, to find your mistakes, and to improve them. And this is something, when she told me this, yes, I wanted people to know I was a Christian. So it helped me in my Christian life. So, this what our teachers did, they helped to help us to grow, in the Christian life.[478]

Janet Yaʿqūb's father was a Coptic priest and she experienced her religious upbringing at home as completely consistent with the religious education at the Protestant EMC. She describes several situations in the interview, which illustrate how the teachers helped her "to grow in the Christian life". While Janet Yaʿqūb learned as younger student how to appear friendly in order to give testimony of her Christianity, later she was encouraged, for she was very shy, to pray in the students' evening service.[479] Thereby she experienced these individual conversations with, and advice from, the teachers as valuable encouragement for the spiritual life and as help for moral improvement to which she was willing to commit.

However, not only good relations with the teachers but harmonious relations in general are regarded as an expression of the spirit of the school, and are closely connected to the school's

[477] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 189-190).
[478] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 012-014). See also Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 083-084 and 118-121); and Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 010-014 and 135-139).
[479] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 135-139 and 260-276).

religious dimension.[480] This spirit was not limited to Christian teaching or religious practices, such as the Morning Prayer in the assembly hall, nor solely to the teaching of moral values, as Buṭrus Fahmī's description shows:

Interviewer: Apart from the religious teaching and the Scripture you mentioned and you won the price for it, how did this Christian spirit appear in everyday life of the school?

Buṭrus Fahmī: There was a sense of ahm you know ahm the staff gave a sense, a particular spirit, a friendly spirit, a brotherly spirit in the school. This was very obvious. You know, until now, until now, when we have this old-boys and old-girls alumni, and we meet each other in very very friendly spirit. We look forward to seeing each other. In spite of all the engagements and shortage of time and that sort of things. The EMC spirit is something memorable. I for example ask some other people about, who were brought up in other schools, let's say St. Mary school in Shubra. There is no bond of unity between the students when they left. But at the English Mission there was a strong bond of unity, a strong affection between the members at any (.). This is communicated not by words, by the spirit it's communicated, by the spirit of the missionary teachers, although they were not the majority. But the majority of the Egyptian teachers were of good quality, good quality. Not rotten quality as you find them now. They were definitely pure (.) quality. (laughing) So, so this spirit was transmitted. And that's why we have this association, we always enjoy seeing each other.[481]

The "particular spirit" of the English Mission College found its expression in the affection and in the friendly spirit between students and staff, promoting a bond of unity and identification with the school. The positive spirit of the school was experienced in the everyday life of the students and the teachers played an important part in maintaining it in their caring of them. Buṭrus Fahmī was convinced that the teacher's religiosity was crucial for their attitude at school.[482] Furthermore, the values taught at school were also experienced in these relationships. Honesty, a value mentioned by all alumni as crucial in the school, was not only propagated, but, in trusting the students, the importance of this value could be experienced.[483] Therefore the students felt that they were taken seriously and cherished by the teachers who promoted this positive spirit.

In comparing how Muslim and Christian alumni evaluate the role of religion at school, we can see that the Muslim students regard morality as the essence of religion. Christians, in contrast, consider the moral values and virtues learned at school to be consequences of the Christian spirit, which shaped the relations at school and made the promoted values tangible to life.

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[480] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 179 and 346-347); and Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 083-088; 119 and 186-197).

[481] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 083-084).

[482] "(…) And then the spirit of the teachers. You know, a teacher who could not care less or a teacher who cares very well, you can't put it in words, but it's there. (short pause) This is how it was communicated was. But definitely, definitely these staff had a lot of prayers for the school on their own. We did not know when they did it. But the spirit of the school was remarkable. Remarkable. (…)" See Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 088).

[483] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 347).

However, both Christians and Muslims claim to have learned important values at the EMC and they furthermore evaluate their relationships to the teachers as friendly. These good student-teacher relations may explain why the processes of "learning by example" (Janet Yaʿqūb) were successful. These processes were particularly crucial for the teaching of core values and of character education.

Buṭrus Fahmī regards the identification of the EMC students with their school and the long-lasting relations between the alumni as an expression of the spirit of the school. He views the close cohesion between the alumni, which is also stressed by the other interviewees, as specific to the EMC and as different to other schools.[484] In fact, the Old Boys' and Old Girls' associations are well organised and they arrange regular reunions and events until today. They endeavoured to remain in touch with their former teachers and if one of the British teachers came to Egypt they have arranged a meeting with them.[485] In order to keep in touch, the former students composed an EMC alumni directory, and later a Yahoo-Group on the internet was established.[486] The directory gives insights into the careers of former English Mission College students; many men worked in good positions in companies, became physicians, professors, engineers or owned their own company, while for the women "housewife" is often found as occupation,[487] but also teacher, headmistress, management assistant, professor etc.

Besides the larger reunions of former EMC-students, which are special events, some of the Christian alumni meet for devotion every Sunday evening in a Protestant church in Downtown Cairo. I attended this devotion twice, where almost exclusively EMC-alumni were present. While the structure of the devotion and the preaching (at the second time a woman was preaching) was comparable to other Protestant services, the language was striking: the songs, prayers, sermon were all in English and also the alumni, all Egyptians, spoke English together as soon as they entered the Church area. English was the main language of the school and ac-

[484] Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 084 and 088). Also other alumni stressed that they were trying hard to stay in touch with their school friends. See Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 474-482); and Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 044). On the website of the "Historical Society of Jews from Egypt" a Jewish alumnus posted a message stating "I would like to get in contact with some of my class mates (Also non Jews) such as Hassan Khadr, Samir Debbas, Helmi Hamdolla, Adib Andraous, as well as other students. I used to be knowned (sic) in college as Levy IX due to too numerous Levys in school in that era. I am really look (sic) forward to receiving your E-Mails from however and wherever." See "Historical Society of Jews from Egypt guestbook", Historical Society of Jews from Egypt, accessed August 24, 2011, http://www.hsje.org/guestbook1/guestbook.html.

[485] Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 123-124); and Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 200).

[486] EMC Alumni Association Directory – 1991, Ereny Press: Cairo 1991; and "EMCollege Yahoo! Groups", accessed August 24, 2011, http://groups.yahoo.com/group/EMCollege/.

[487] When I visited one of the Sunday reunions and prayers of the EMC alumni, one of the women critically noted that "housewife" is not the accurate designation for several of the mentioned alumni. She for example studied Chemistry and received a PhD, but is listed as "housewife".

cording to Aḥmad Rafīq the children were not allowed to use any other language in the school area.[488] Furthermore, the alumni I spoke to and interviewed spoke English with me, even when I spoke Arabic to them. Therefore, the English language can be regarded as part of the identification with the English Mission College.

However retrospectively, the prevalence of the English language at the College is, not only positively evaluated. In consideration of the English Mission College, the explicit British character of the school, the focus on the English language, and a curriculum that was oriented on Britain is seen critically:

Interviewer: What do you feel, when you look back to your school time, what were the advantages, to be taught by foreign teachers? What could you learn from them? Expected from the foreign language skills, that of course is always better, if you have native speakers.

Janet Yaʿqūb: Yes, ahm. Well, there are some criticisms, to the (k) to this. Ahm (short pause) for instance, we studied British history and British geography, which really meant nothing to us, but we studied this. So I do not know, until today, I don't know any Egyptian geography, or Egyptian history. So this was a mistake, I think that we should have known, ok, other things could be studied in English, but we should have known something about our country. And that was a pity. Also as far as I am concerned, because we studied everything in English and because I worked in English, my Arabic is poor. In school I used to write good Arabic essays, but Arabic was just a subject, it's not like studying everything in Arabic. So this, was a bit of a minus. Even now, ahm, I used to go to a camp, this was after school, and I couldn't understand very well the Arabic. And I couldn't sing the Arabic hymns, because by the time I managed to read a word, the others would have reached the end of the line. And this is what this is what I suffer from even now.[489]

Janet Yaʿqūb believes that the Arabic language and culture of Egypt was neglected in the EMC-curriculum and that she was not sufficiently prepared to live in the Egyptian society. In fact, as a requirement of the Ministry of Education the school had to modify its curriculum and teach Egyptian geography, history and civics, since the early 1950s. One of the EMC alumni, who generally holds a high estimation of his former school, also critically notes the prevalent Britishness of the school. He told me, off-record, that they sang the British national anthem and prayed for the British King and Queen. During political unrests in the 1950s, British soldiers even camped in the school yard in order to protect the children.[490] Considering this criticism of the school, it is remarkable that it has rather been expressed by Christian alumni, while the Muslim interviewees have defended the school against any criticism. It might be that they actually remember the school only in positive manner, or that they find it politically incorrect to criticise a Christian school as Muslims.

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[488] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 383-391).
[489] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 339-340).
[490] Saʿd Ibrāhīm, conversation with author, Cairo 23. 7. 2009.

2.2.2 The Bethel Girls' School in Suez

In the July/August issue of the *Egypt General Mission News* we can read the following request in the "Prayer Circle Notes", amongst others, to thank God: "Suez: numbers and improvement in the school and interest in the Bible lessons; decisions among the girls."[491] This call for gratitude is followed by the request to pray for: "Suez: that the Moslem women may be reached in their homes; that there may be a deeper sense of need among the Coptic women; the Sunday School."[492] The requests for gratitude and prayer reflect two topics that are crucial when studying a missionary girls' school in Egypt. First, we encounter the subject of missionary progress and success, which is measured in the prayer note not only with respect to the number of pupils but furthermore considering their interest in the Christian religion. That there were "decisions among the girls", was regarded as particular success since these children were considered as having converted. Second, the prayer notes almost exclusively mentioned activities targeting women, and raises the question of the role of gender in missionary education.

The "Prayer Circle Notes" quoted above were printed four years after the foundation of the girls' day school in Suez and three years later, in 1913, the Egypt General Mission established a boarding school for girls in the same building.[493] However, the first activities of the EGM missionaries in Suez reach back to the beginning of their work, in the early twentieth century. Suez was regarded as being situated in a strategically important region. Annually, large numbers of Muslim pilgrims from all over the world passed through this city in order to take the ship to Jeddah, the port city for Mecca. The missionaries opened a book shop with a reading room in 1901, selling Christian books composed for a Muslim audience with an aim to reach the pilgrims.[494] Furthermore, they had contact with the Coptic community and one of the missionaries visited a Coptic boys' school regularly. This eventually provided him with the opportunity to work in this school.[495] The teaching in the boys' school also attracted girls who also wanted to attend the lessons:

"And the girls? At Suez they took matters into their own hands and refuse to be left out of the educational program. They presented themselves at the door of the Boys' School, squeezed in with the lad as they entered, and more or less staged a "sit-down" strike, till in desperation the poor harassed bachelor-missionary prevailed upon his sister, who was visiting him at the time,

[491] "Prayer Circle Notes," 94.
[492] "Prayer Circle Notes," 95.
[493] Hetherington, *A Run Round the Stations*, 10.
[494] *Egypt General Mission: Its Origin and Work*, 22-3; and Naish, *Wonders in Egypt*, 11.
[495] „In August last, as the Coptic Boys' School in which I have been long interested, was in a very bad way, I took over control of it, on condition that we should open each morning with a Bible lesson and prayer." See Logan, J. Gordon. "Suez". *Egypt General Mission News*, no. 2 (April 1906), 57.

to come to his rescue and provide suitable employment in the way of sewing and knitting for these determined young ladies. With the help of a Syrian woman, lessons were given also to these girls, but an organised Girls' School was not opened until 1906 when sufficient lady missionaries had reached Egypt to allow of this."[496]

Notes on the Corpus of Sources

In comparison to the English Mission College, almost no archival sources could be found on the Bethel School in Suez. While the documents, letters, minutes etc. of the College administration were mostly transferred to the Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Egypt in Cairo, most of the unprinted documents of the Egypt General Missions are lost, in particular those produced in the Egyptian stations. Only minute books from the field, as well as from the home council, covering the period between 1939 and 1957 were found at the *MECO* archives in Tunbridge Wells. Additionally, a short correspondence between Bishop Gwynne and missionaries of the Egypt General Mission (concerning the opening ceremony of the new school building in Suez) is preserved in the Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Egypt in Cairo. It is difficult to gain a closer insight into the structures, functionalities and everyday life of the Bethel School based on archival sources, since important documents, such as timetables, student- and teacher-files, letters to parents etc., are lacking.

In contrast to the lack of archival sources, many printed sources, such as the journal *Egypt General Mission News* or booklets written for supporters and missionary friends, can be found at the MECO archives. Furthermore, I studied a few Arabic books, printed for use in the missionary field and designed for children and for school purposes.[497] Moreover, I conducted two oral history interviews with former Christian missionary students of the Bethel School, led conversation with a further Christian alumnus of the school, and interviewed a British missionary and teacher who worked for years at the Bethel School. The focus of this chapter will lie on the Bethel School but I will draw certain baselines to the EGM boys' school in Ismailia in order to contrast the different conceptions, particularly with regards to the matter of gender and education. To this purpose, I offer a study of an interview I conducted with a former student of the EGM boarding school in Ismailia, also a Protestant Christian.

[496] Naish, *Wonders in Egypt*, 13.
[497] These books were not found at the MECO archives in Tunbridge Wells, but in the private library of an employee of the Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten living in Cairo. Hence these books were used by missionaries of the Sudan-Pionier Mission. Many of these writings were printed by the Nile Mission Press, which was closely related to the Egypt General Mission.

Education in the Work of the Egypt General Missions

For the Egypt General Mission the establishment of schools was a method of missionary work and they were furthermore involved in medical work and direct evangelisation. In 1948 for instance, the Egypt General Mission was operating seven schools, including a "Farm Colony Centre" that can also be considered as educational institution.[498] Hence the Bethel School in Suez was only one of them. Apart from the schools in Ismailia and Bilbeis, it was one of the oldest EGM-school and operated continuously until 1956. Moreover, as the passage of prayer requests quoted in the beginning of this subchapter shows, the schools of the Egypt General Mission were normally embedded in further missionary activities. The EGM-missionaries considered schools not only as educational institutions but also as a means to reach parents and to break "down the strong prejudices which exist in the minds of the people against missionaries in general."[499] While the English Mission College was designed according to the model of British public schools, and provided education from preparatory to secondary level, the Egypt General Mission did not establish any secondary schools. Furthermore, an EGM-missionary believes, while reviewing his active time in Egypt, that their schools did not operate "much differently from Evangelical schools anywhere (…)."[500]

The main objective of the Egypt General Mission's educational work was to act as a direct evangelistic agency and to convert children -and if possible also parents- to an evangelical form of Christianity. The importance of providing religious education was repeatedly stressed in the journals and booklets printed for missionary friends, and progress was reported primarily in terms of the students interest in Christianity or actual conversions.[501] Some EGM missionaries highlighted that the particular impact of missionary schools on Muslim children consisted in teaching them Christianity, before they really knew their own religion. The missionaries hoped that this would prevent them from rejecting the evangelistic attempts and make them more open for Christian teachings.[502]

The Egypt General Mission understood their schools as evangelistic agencies, and aimed to reach people on a broad social scale. In order to allow families from a more modest social background to send their children to school, fees were kept low and did not cover the actual

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[498] "Stations and Missionaries, December 1948," 131.
[499] *Egypt General Mission: Its Origin and Work*, 14.
[500] Whitehouse, *Do you Remember… ?*, 35.
[501] Swan, Lacked ye Anything, 28-31; Logan, "Egypt General Mission: Twelfth Annual Report 1909," 73-4; Walker, "Tabloids and how they are swallowed," 92-5; and "Our Schools," 50-1.
[502] "School-girls of Egypt," 26. In another report on the Bethel School in Suez is written that the school aimed "to destroy the foundation of Islam's falsehood", see King, "Suez: Pulling down and Building up (Jer. i. 10)," 43.

costs of the schools.[503] Considering the social background of the interviewees and following their statements, I conclude that girls at Bethel School mostly came from petit bourgeois families.

However, although evangelistic endeavours must have been a leading force in schoolwork, we can find a few illuminating remarks as to why successes in other fields of the educational work only played minor role in the missionary accounts for their supporters. In the booklet "In troublous times", portraying the history and progresses of the Egypt General Mission during the last ten years, we can read:

"The outstanding character of the work in Ismailia has been educational. One hears someone at this point saying, 'Oh! Institutional,' with a somewhat unpleasant emphasis on the word, and with a turning over of the pages to find something more directly evangelistic, which they consider only really worthy of the name of missionary work. Sad to say, this is said or implied by some of the keenest, most enthusiastic supporters of missionary work."[504]

A considerable weight of expectation lay on the performance of the Egypt General Mission and many of the financial and ideational supporters measured the success of the work in religious terms. As a result, the missionaries were urged to highlight the evangelistic endeavours of their work and, where possible, report stories from conversions. The demarcation from ordinary welfare work was important for the evangelically minded supporter, since they intended to support Christian mission and not "worldly" benevolent endeavours.[505] These conditions reveal a source-critical problem. While certain objectives and successes were reported extensively, as the supporters expected this kind of achievement, other kind progresses in non-religious fields are rather mentioned en passant.[506] However, despite the centrality of the evangelistic mission, the missionaries working in Egypt considered their welfare work as being part of missionary work on its own right, as this estimation by a retired missionary shows:

"However, it would be wrong to regard institutional service simply as a means to an end. I suppose there were some among our home supporters who regarded it largely in that way, but those involved in these ministries really saw in the ministry itself an avenue of Christian service and an opportunity to demonstrate the love of Christ in action. As I think of our people

[503] In the girls' school in Ismailia for instance, the missionaries received about 11£ fees for about eight months of school, but the expenses for the same period amounted 50£. See Cohen, "Ismailia," 85. Furthermore, the financial statements printed in the *Egypt General Mission News* (no similar financial reports could be found in the archival sources) display that the missionaries were spending more money for their schools than could be covered by the school fees. See for example "Egypt General Mission: Statement of Receipts and Payments the year ended 31st December 1935," 43-4.

[504] Swan, *In troublous times*, 59.

[505] Reeves Palmer, "Are Schools Efficient Evangelistic Agencies?," 128-9.

[506] Other missionary societies faced the problem that they initially were focusing on certain objectives, which had to be adapted to the circumstance in the missionary field. However the reports for their supporter were still highlighting progresses within the initial objectives. See Hauser, "Waisen gewinnen," 28-30.

working in hospitals, clinics and schools, I remember them as a dedicated group of people anxious to share their skills and their faith with others."[507]

Objectives in educational work, which were important for the practical missionary work in the field, can still be found in reports published for the missionary friends but they are less prominently described. The "character training" which was regarded as essential at the English Mission College, plays no comparable role in the accounts of the Egypt General Mission. However, it was still an educational aim which concerned the EGM-teachers and they experienced that the parents also highly appreciated the schooling in good manners and morals.[508] Thereby education in morality compromised of training in values such as obedience, honesty, politeness, and interest in the Gospel.[509] Furthermore, the missionaries regarded the girls' education as of particular importance and they welcomed the fact that the girls increasingly enjoyed freedom and possibilities due to the social changes in the course of the first half of the twentieth century.[510] The Egypt General Mission started its activities in girls' education very early and they also asked for a much lower fee than in the boys schools (at least in the beginning of their schoolwork).[511]

Curriculum and Developments of the Bethel School

The ordinary school day at the Bethel School in Suez started for the boarders as well as for the girls of the day school with prayers in the assembly hall, which was usually led by one of the missionaries.[512] The children here were not only taught by the British missionaries; most of the teachers were of Egyptian or of Middle Eastern origin and all of them were Christians. Some of the indigenous teachers were former students of missionary schools and, among them, were converts from Islam.[513] The headmistress of the school was always an EGM-missionary and hence of western origin.

The curriculum in the girls' school, in the initial years after its foundation, compromised of Scripture classes (in which the pupils had to memorise verses and hymns), the three R's (read-

[507] Whitehouse, *Do you Remember… ?*, 35.
[508] "Suez Women's Work," 52. The writer thereby noted that Muslim parents appreciated that their children's character was trained, since this kind of education was lacking in government schools.
[509] "School-girls of Egypt," 24-5.
[510] Naish, *Wonders in Egypt*, 5-6.
[511] Cohen, "Ismailia," 85.
[512] Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 025); and Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 129).
[513] Some of the families of the teachers came from regions in the Middle East, but were living in Egypt and hence they were also raised in Egypt. There was, for instance a teacher with Armenian roots. See . "Aims and Actualities," 167 (also converts mentioned). Furthermore on teachers, who used to be Muslims, see Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 151).

ing, writing and arithmetic), geography, object lessons (lessons taught using an object as a focus, most probably in the missionary context the object was used to demonstrate religious contents) and needlework.[514] This syllabus was still essentially adhered to in the 1950s, as the following description of an ordinary school day at the Bethel School in Suez shows:

سهام بطرس: (...) وبعد كدة الدراسة تبتدي عادي ، عربي و حساب و انجليزي كنا ناخد ثلاث حصص وبعدين ننزل فسحة بتاع ربع ساعة ، وبعدين نطلع تاني نقعد حصتين وبعدين نروح بقى بقى. في بنات بيبقي بيتهم بعيد بيجيبوا اكلهم معاهم ، وفي بنات بيبقي بيتهم قريب بيروحوا يكلوا ويرجعوا تاني، وبعد كدة بناخد حصتين يعني اليوم كله بينتهي في المدرسة ، نروح الساعة اربعة ونص.[515]

Furthermore, according to my interview partners, the girls were also taught Christian religion, science, needlework, drawing, music and sports.[516]

Considering the available sources, it is not clear to which degree the Bethel School followed the government syllabus or when they decided to prepare their students for the government examinations. In the boys' schools, in Ismailia for instance, some pupils already attended the government examination in the early twenties (this is the first report I found in the sources that mentions this test in the framework of the EGM).[517] Comparable statements concerning the girls' performance in such tests can be found in reports of the 1950s, in which the missionaries highlight that all the students attending the tests had been successful.[518] Still, these reports do not necessarily mean that pupils at the Bethel School did not sit the test in previous decades for even the EGM girls' schools had to compete with other schools. The missionaries were afraid of losing pupils to government schools and this worry is communicated in the case of the Bilbeis girls' school: "The Government girls' school is fighting us hard, and leaves no stone unturned to take away our children, but God is answering, and we have had several new Moslem children come to us."[519]

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[514] Cohen, "Ismailia," 85. The description of this curriculum refers to the girls' school in Ismailia, but I assume that all the EGM girls' school followed a very similar syllabus. The concept of the object lessons was developed by the Swiss pedagogue Johann Pestalozzi, but was also part of the education in the colonial context. See Sengupta, "An Object Lesson in Colonial Pedagogy".

[515] „*Sihām Buṭrus*: And afterwards the lessons began as usual; Arabic, arithmetic and English, we usually took three lessons and then we went down for a break of a quarter of an hour. Afterwards we returned and had two lessons and then we went home. There were girls taking there food with them, since there house was far away, and others whose houses was near, so they went home for lunch returned later. Afterwards we had two lessons so that the school day ended and we could go home at around four o'clock." See Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 35).

[516] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 173-181). Comparing the syllabus at Egypt General Mission schools with primary schools in Britain in the same period, we find no significant differences, expect from the languages and that sports might have been more important in Britain. Concerning the curriculum of British primary schools, see Cunningham, "Primary Education," 13-7.

[517] King, "The Battle for the Boys," 79. According to Georg White, a missionary and former teacher at the EGM school in Ismailia, the boys' school had a similar syllabus like the government's schools, but additionally taught scripture. See Georg and Mary White, interview by author, tape recording, Cheltenham 8. 11. 2008 (recording 55:20 – 56:50).

[518] King, "Field Report," 19; and Howarth, "Suez," 17.

[519] Channing, Kathleen. "Belbeis". *Egypt General Mission News*, no. 131 (May/June 1924), 63.

The Egypt General Mission started it's schoolwork in 1906 and, already prior to the official foundation of the boarding school, some pupils lived in the house of the missionaries. A few years after the establishment of the school, 65 girls -five of whom were boarders- were taught at the Bethel School.[520] The number of day school students, as well as of boarders, increased in the following decades, rising to around ninety girls in 1914 and reaching 128 pupils (among them 34 boarders) in 1937.[521] By this time, the missionaries considered their school facilities inadequate for the number of pupils and they sought to buy an appropriate building. They introduced the prefect system in the mid-1930s, which they perceived to have been "a help to the children, and the teachers too are learning to take fuller responsibility."[522] The Egypt General Mission managed to buy the compound of their school in Suez in 1938 and started building a new school.[523] The extension was worthwhile for the school for the numbers continued to increase, reaching 231 school children, including 26 boarders, in December 1952.[524]

The Egypt General Mission chose another policy in dealing with the Law 38 than that of the English Mission College. Soon after the law had been issued in 1948, the missionaries of the Egypt General Mission decided to abide by it in a similar manner to the English Mission College:

"Since the direct teaching of the scriptures to all pupils in our schools is fundamental, this must be continued – the Field Council feels that owing to the moral obligation to parents of Moslem pupils in 3rd and 4th year classes, who have been unable to obtain places in other schools, it is prepared to accept these pupils as from the 1st November, and excuse them from attendance at scripture lessons."[525]

However, unlike the English Mission College, the Egypt General Mission soon admitted Muslim children to their schools again as they were convinced that "the threatened regulations were never put into effect (…)."[526] Although the Muslim pupils could attend classes again, and boarders were expected to be present at prayer, they were excluded from the scripture classes. After 1956, the situation of the missionary schools, and particularly for those of the Egypt General Mission, grew increasingly difficult as the government expected the schools to teach Muslim children Islam.[527] With this, both the Bethel School and the boys' school in Is-

[520] Langford, "Suez Station," 93.
[521] King, "Suez," 52; and "Field Annual Report 1937," 39.
[522] "Field Annual Report 1937," 39.
[523] Form of Service for Dedication of Bethel School for Girls Suez. AEDE, Box 24aI.
[524] King, "Field Report," 19.
[525] Minutes of the Meeting of the Egypt General Mission Field Council held at Zeitoun. 24.09.1948, MECO archives.
[526] Naish, *Wonders in Egypt*, 24.
[527] Minutes of Meeting of the Home Council of Egypt General Mission. Office of the Chairman, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 05.01.1956, MECO archives.

mailia were forced to end their missionary work even before the principal and most of the foreign staff of the English Mission College had resigned. Government inspectors discovered that, in Ismailia and Suez, Muslim children were still attending the prayers at school. This attendance was considered as a transgression of Law 38, and the government accordingly issued deportation orders against the principals of these two schools.[528] Moreover, the two schools and their properties were requisitioned by the government only a few weeks later, as it decided "to confiscate any schools not willing to conform to the law by teaching Islam to Muslim pupils and not to discriminate in accepting pupils."[529]

Relations, Orders and Authority

From the beginning of their schoolwork in Suez, the missionaries relied on indigenous teachers since they were often involved in other missionary activities besides schoolwork. Furthermore, only two to three female foreign missionaries were usually stationed in Suez and they would not have been able to properly teach a hundred to two-hundred pupils.[530] However, foreign missionaries were in charge of the school and were hence on the top level of the school hierarchy.

The interviewed Bethel School alumni had closer relations to the Egyptian teachers than to the foreign missionaries. They encountered the missionaries in the morning in the assembly hall, where they led the prayer, and later the foreign teachers were often present during the cleanliness surveillance.[531] Miss Howarth, who was the de facto headmistress, was feared by the children as she was very strict and also delivered corporal punishments. Although the Egyptian teachers themselves also punished the children, in cases of more serious misbehaviour, they would threaten misbehaving children with a visit to Miss Howarth.[532] According to

[528] Minutes of Meeting of the Home Council of the Egypt General Mission. Friends House, London, 19.06.1956, MECO archives.
[529] Minutes of Meeting of the Home Council of the Egypt General Mission. Friends House, London, 31.07.1956, MECO archives.
[530] For numbers of missionaries in Suez and activities besides operating the Bethel School, see "Stations and Workers: January 1913," 9; "Stations and Workers: March 1923," 26; and "Stations and Workers: April 1936," 44.
[531] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 292-294); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 23-25).
[532] Concerning the fear of Miss Howarth and punishments, see Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 097-101); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 228-230). De facto Miss Howarth was the principal in the 1950s, but following the official documents Margaret French was the headmistress and she was also deported, when the Egyptian authorities found out about the daily prayers at school. See Minutes of Meeting of the Home Council of the Egypt General Mission. Friends House, London, 19.06.1956, MECO archives. Miss Howarth was de facto the headmistress, since she was much more experienced as missionary and teacher in Egypt, while Miss Smith was the official head of the school, since this position required a teaching diploma. Margaret Smith has received her diploma

Sihām Buṭrus, a former Bethel School pupil, the respect and fear of Miss Howarth did not only concern the children. She believes that Egyptian teachers also were afraid and tried to avoid encounters with the British teachers.[533] Although Sihām Buṭrus might have extended the fear of Miss Howarth experienced by the pupils and by subordinates at school, it is obvious that the British teachers monitored the Egyptian teachers. The foreign missionaries sometimes attended the lessons of the Egyptian teachers and the indigenous staff living on the school compound had to get permission if they wanted to leave the school area.[534]

Following the accounts of the teacher and former pupils interviewed, the Bethel School can not only be considered as a physical place of education, but furthermore as a symbolic and social space;[535] or, as I will call it, an *ordered space*. Interpersonal relations, as well as relations to values and norms, form the basis of ordered spaces. Thereby, the comparatively small classes with between 25 and 30 pupils were a precondition for close, or even personal, relations between children and teachers.[536]

In the sources examined, four types of interpersonal relations can be found: relations among students, relations between teachers and students, between Egyptian and British teachers and (but only marginally addressed) between British teachers themselves. As already discussed, the categories „hierarchy“, „surveillance”, “punishment” and „strictness“ play an important role in the students' experiences with the teachers, and in particular with Miss Howarth. Thereby “strictness” is primarily mentioned as a characteristic of the headmistress and in this context closely associated with fear. The strictness of Miss Howarth was partly related to her institutional position and, taking into account the fear of the children, mainly seen as an aspect of her personality.[537]

The mentioned categories „hierarchy“, „surveillance”, “punishment” and „strictness“ had a crucial impact on shaping interpersonal relations. Furthermore, they are associated with the category “discipline”, which is not only crucial for interpersonal relations, but also structured the agents' relations to certain norms and values. In the chapter on the English Mission Col-

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from a teaching College in London and therefore was better qualified then Miss Howarth, who did not have any diploma. See Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 1. 11. 2008 (recording 1:29:30 – 1:30:40).

[533] Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 249-254).

[534] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 293-299); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 93-96 and l. 258).

[535] Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, 152-72; Ulf, "Rethinking Cultural Contacts," 91; and reflections on the importance of tangle of relationships situated in a social space and on the notion of “Heterotopies”, see Foucault, "Andere Räume".

[536] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 024 and 077); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 288-289).

[537] Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 235-238 and 192-204).

lege above, I have discussed how disciplinary powers impacted upon the behaviour of the students and also the values which were related to discipline. The disciplinary mechanisms, as well as the values associated with the category "discipline", were similarly shaped at the Bethel School. In both schools, values such as cleanliness, orderliness, honesty and respect were of crucial importance, and the pupils' behaviour was trained in order to internalise these standards.[538] Furthermore, punishments were experienced as a consequence of breaking certain school rules and were not arbitrarily executed.[539]

Values and regulations, and their role in shaping the relations, were important in establishing a distinct character of the school. Thereby Sāmiya Ḥabīb's answer on the question of how she experienced the relations between the students, gives insight into how the school is remembered as an *ordered space*:

> سامية حبيب: هو بالنسبة لي انا كان (k) كان شوية العلاقة فيها احترام زيادة. يعني غير المدارس الحكومية كان شوية، لكنها هناك كان في احترام عالي يعني، كنا (k) كنا (k) بس ده طبعاً كان زمان في (short pause) الخمسينات يعني، كانت ال (k) دايما المدارس ليه مهابة. بعد كدة ابتدت مهابة المدارس تنقص، لحاد ما وصلنا دلوقتي ان هو ملوش مهابة خالص. فاحنا زمان كان (k) عامة المدرسة كان فيها، اقدر اقول قدسية، حاجة كأنه مكان مقدس. مش كأننا رايحين كدة اي حاجة، لأ احنا كنا نروح المدرسة، كأننا رايحين مكان مقدس، ليه قوانين، ليه كدة تاكلنا(?) كان فيه مهابة بقي وبالتالي كان برضوا في بينّا وبين المدرسين، ان احنا نحترمهم قوي، ونسمع كلامهم جدا وعارفين ان كلامهم ده هو الصح. فا اي حاجة المدرس يقولها او المدرسة تقولها ده هو الصح. فا احنا علي طول بنمشي فيه. كانت العلاقة فيها احترام جامد وكانت فيها طاعة ، طاعة جامدة يعني. بس شوية كنا يعني ساعات شوية بنخاف.[540]

Although Sāmiya Ḥabīb has been asked to describe the relations among the students, she soon focuses on the relations to the teachers. This shift of focus may imply that for her the quality of student-teacher relations was forming the basis for good relations among the students.[541] The relations at school in general, and those to the teachers in particular, are described as very respectful. By contrasting her school with other educational institutions, she elevates the

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[538] Dunyā Fārūq, conversation with author, Cairo 3. 8. 2009; Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 037); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 395-397).

[539] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 105); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 235-238). Also the punishments at the Egypt General Mission boys' school in Ismailia were experienced consequence of misconduct but also insufficient performance. See Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 8. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 164-165).

[540] „*Sāmiya Ḥabīb*: What concerns me, I was (k) the relations were very respectful. I mean, unlike in the government schools where there was only little respect, but there [in the Bethel School] was a very respectful atmosphere, there was (k) of course this was in the past, in the 1950s, I mean, it was (k) the schools were always characterised by reverence. Afterwards the respect towards the schools started to decrease, until we arrived to the present state where there is no reverence at all. So we had in the past (k) usually the schools had, I would say, a certain sacredness, it was like something sacred. It was not like going anywhere, no, we were going to school, as if we went to a sacred place, with its rules, there was respect between us and the teachers, we were honouring them very much, and we were very obedient and we knew that what they were saying was the truth. So anything the teacher was saying, it was the right thing, so we were straightly following it. It was a relationship with deep respect and obedience, a strong obedience. However, sometimes we were also a bit afraid." See Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 96).

[541] Also at another point of the interview she relates not caring teachers to bad relationships among pupils. See Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 072).

Bethel School to what she calls a "sacred" space. The sacredness described implies two features. Firstly, that the children entered this space with an attitude of reverence, obedience and with a willingness to listen and learn. The teachers of her illustration evolve into prophetic authorities who told the truth and lead the children in a proper way. Sāmiya Ḥabīb, who herself later became a teacher in a government school, here portrays an ideal of a pupil's attitude than of actual school children. Her teacher Margaret Smith however, highlights that her pupils in Suez "were lovely" and "wanted to learn"[542] in her interview. Secondly, the described "sacred space" was characterised by the prevalence of rules of conduct, implying the respect towards these rules and to the authority in general.

Sāmiya contrasts the Bethel School with the government school as well as with contemporary schools in Egypt. All the interviewees who learned or were taught at the Bethel School, compare this school to that which they experienced in other schools. Both alumni left the Bethel School, after it was nationalised and continued their schooling elsewhere, while Margaret Smith gained further teaching experience at schools in England.[543]

By comparing the Bethel School to other educational institutions, the interviewees create distinctions, allowing the Bethel School to appear as an entity with a specific character. In the quoted passage, Sāmiya Ḥabīb chooses exemplary points of reference when the interviewees compare schools. On the one hand they contrast the quality of the interpersonal relations at the schools, and on the other, they mention certain norms and values as benchmarks. Generally, the interviewees mention that it was a girls-school only. Furthermore, they evaluate the rules at school, the norms and values such as cleanliness, punctuality and orderliness characterising the Bethel School, as lacking in other schools.[544]

Relations, respect and friendliness were especially highlighted, although the alumni stress respect (though in a positive way) while Margaret Smith emphasises friendliness. Former students mention friendliness in particular when talking about the relations among pupils, emphasising it when speaking about the relationship between Muslim and Christian pupils.[545] In contrast, the relations between children at the government school are characterised as difficult and sometimes even as violent:

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[542] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 084).
[543] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 004).
[544] Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 023, 155-161 and 396-397); and Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 066; 070-072; 168-169 and 275-278). Also Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm, the alumni from the EGM boarding school in Suez, mention similar values and the importance of the rules at school, however he does not compare his school with other schools. See Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 8. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 206-219 and 271).
[545] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 256-264); Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 419-421 and 549-552); and Dunyā Fārūq, conversation with author, Cairo 3. 8. 2009.

سامية حبيب: (...) وبرضة البنات نفسها والأولاد كانوا كانوا مش حلوين، ممكن يضربوا بعض، ممكن يشتموا.[546]

Also the former missionary teacher found it easier to care for and teach Egyptian children rather than British children, since she was convinced that with British children she "couldn't keep order. I am sure I couldn't, because half of them don't want to learn, and then they play up."[547] Furthermore, she describes her relations to the Egyptian teachers as very friendly and even amicable, and she considered them as role models in terms of their patience and love for the children.[548] Margaret Smith identified the pupils and teachers of the Bethel School as part of the social space she also belonged to and she draws demarcation lines between her school in Egypt and the one she was teaching in Britain and also between Christians and Muslims.[549]

Both the alumni and the former teacher regard respect for the authority of the teacher and of the rules at school, as well as reverence of values such as orderliness, punctuality, cleanliness and discipline, as fundamental for a proper school. By contrasting their school with other teaching institutions, the interviewees highlight that if these norms and orders are disregarded, chaos and negative interpersonal relations would be the results. Such circumstances also impacted upon the quality of the teaching, which was regarded as better, more creative and more age-appropriate at the Bethel School than at other schools.[550] Thus, the Bethel School evolves to an ordered space due to the specific qualities of interpersonal relations (including also the hierarchies and authority) and also due to the relations to the prevalent norms and values previously mentioned. Decisive for this type of social space is its symbolic identity, which allows the involved students to identify with their school and perceive it as distinct from comparable institutions. Within such an ordered space the external (socially practiced) rules and values are internalised and they structure behaviour, actions, modes of perception, i.e. the habitus, not only of the children but also of the teachers.[551]

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[546] „*Sāmiya Ḥabīb:* And also the girls themselves and boys, they were not friendly, since it was very likely that they were beating each other or insulting." See Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 72).

[547] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 082).

[548] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 114-117 and 151).

[549] While Margaret Smith considered the Egyptian Christians as her equals, she had the feeling that Muslims were fundamentally different, even Muslims children. See Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 084-088). A lapsus linguae indicates that for her in particular Muslims were alien: "Well, because (…) people wouldn't, you don't even know the culture, and eh, the people at all. Cause I hadn't met any ahm, any Musl, (k) ahm Egyptians before." See Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 026).

[550] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 024 and 239); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 364-368). Hence, concerning the quality of the teaching, the former pupils were sharing the judgment of Missionary educationalist such Anna B. Criswell that the missionary schools were superior in teaching and moral qualities to regular Egyptian schools (see Chapter 2.1).

[551] Pierre Boudieu describes the relation between habitus and social field on the one hand as mode of conditioning, on the other hand the habitus contributes to forming the social field as a meaningful world with intrinsic

Christian Religion at School: Official Objects and personal Experiences

"I said they are not reverent – God's name is nothing more than a name to them. New girls or bigoted one will not even close their eyes during prayer, and yet by example and real reverence on our part they *learn* to be reverent."[552]

This anonymous missionary and teacher in an Egypt General Mission girls' school, appears to be dismayed at her pupils' lack of sense in religious matters. The writer puts an emphasis on teaching a proper religious attitude and tried to teach Christianity by setting a good example him/herself. The emphasis on religious matters is related to the missionaries' main objective, as I have illustrated earlier in this chapter: namely the spread of evangelical shaped Christian faith and conduct of life. However, it is very unlikely that most of the parents also wished their children to become faithful Protestants for most of the students came from Muslim or Coptic families. Therefore, the question how Christianity was taught and practiced in everyday school-life seems to be intrusive. I will approach this question in two steps: First, I will examine the side of the teacher (i.e. Margaret Smith) and study her motivation in becoming a missionary and her aims as a teacher in Suez. Second, I will consider the degree of importance which is ascribed by former students to religion in everyday school-life.

Margaret Smith sees the initial motivation for her involvement in missionary work in her conversion. Her conversion was necessary since prior to this event she considers herself, retrospectively, as "a follower of Christ, but a very poor one, I wasn't converted, I didn't know the Lord."[553] This spiritual step was the precondition for being willing to serve as a missionary for, following her account, she did not want to choose her path of life by herself anymore but was anxious to find out where God wanted to lead her. Therefore, her choice to enter a Bible school and to serve as teacher for the Egypt General Mission was induced by Bible verses and events, which she read as divine indications.[554] These indications strengthened her conviction to follow "God's call" into mission and when she arrived in Egypt everything was wonderful for her "because it was God-given. And you are always in the right place and it was so love-

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values. See Bourdieu and Wacquant, *Reflexive Anthropologie*, 160-4. See also Schwingel, *Pierre Bourdieu zur Einführung*, 71-5.

[552] "School-Girls of Egypt," 25. Emphasis in the original.

[553] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 004).

[554] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 008-012). On the centrality of the individual's conscious conversion in Evangelicalism and Pietism, see Matthias, "Bekehrung und Wiedergeburt," 49-58.

ly."[555] We have to consider that the general pattern of Margaret Smith's account on how she became a missionary is quite common in (auto-)biographical narratives of missionaries.[556]

Although Margaret Smith was clearly religiously motivated and saw her work in Egypt as service for God, her evangelistic endeavours as missionary and teacher in Suez play a minor role in her account. For her, the eight years she spent in Egypt were mainly a time of learning, starting with the Arabic language but also getting to know the local manners and customs, learning to play Arabic hymns on the piano and also how to approach people in order to lead evangelistic conversations. During her time in Egypt, she became particularly aware that she was learning "what I was like, rather than what they were like."[557] In getting acquainted with herself, and by experiencing how the Egyptian teachers handled the children, she realised that she had to learn to love the people more, in order to serve them.[558]

Concerning the role of religion at school, the former Bethel School teacher mentions certain elements of their religious work, such as the morning prayers in the assembly hall, or the telling of Bible stories by teachers in religious class.[559] However, the active imparting of Christian religion was limited to a certain timeframe and neither engaged the whole school day, nor was the sole objective of the missionary teachers, as this interview passage illustrates:

Interviewer: What did you wanted to (short pause) to give them to learn
Margaret Smith: Well, I have to be honest and, I am, when I started, ahm teaching, here in England, I vowed I would never be in a boarding school. And so when I got (.) God put me in a boarding school, to teach me. And I had to learn, perhaps how to entertain the children not just in school, and give them help, and in living in the world, since the (k), I don't mean that, I don't mean (short pause) I mean culturally, interest in ahm (short pause) perhaps nature, and that kind of thing. But I didn't do very much in that way.[560]

Margaret Smith is critical regarding the success of her teaching in relating to a matter that would help them "living in the world". Notably, she mentions not a religious aim but rather hoped to stimulate cultural interest or awareness for nature.

While Miss Smith was rather sceptical concerning her teaching success, the Bethel School alumni I interviewed were quite happy with what they had learned at school (I will discuss the "learning" and "teaching"-relations in the next section). In their accounts on their school time,

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[555] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 032).
[556] Swan, *Lacked ye Anything*, 5-18, and 24-56; Hussein, *Aus meinem Leben*, 24-56; and Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin*, 11-3. On secondary literature focusing on women's motive to work to become missionaries, see Hoyle, "Nineteenth-Century Single Women and Motivation for Mission," 58-64.
[557] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 062 and 111). Also other missionary saw their first years in Egypt very much as a time of learning "by trial and error, with considerable emphasis on error." See Whitehouse, *Do you Remember… ?*, 3.
[558] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 064 and 116-117).
[559] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 076 and 128-129).
[560] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 144-145).

Christian teaching and practice play a more important role than in their teacher's description. However, also for the students religion was not experienced as the dominant aspect of their education but rather as an (important) element of the daily school routine.[561] Furthermore, they considered the little clinic, located next to the school compound, where people received free treatment for minor injuries and illnesses, a sign of Christian love towards the people.[562] At this point, it is important to note that all the Bethel School interviewees are Christian and members of a Protestant church.

Christian religion was practiced and taught in the morning for the morning assembly scripture classes followed afterwards:

سهام بطرس: وبعد كدة ميس"Howarth" دي الرئيسة كنا نرنم كل يوم، وبعدين الرئيسة دي كانت تصللي بالانجليزي و فيه وحدة تترجم بالعربي، بعد كدة كله بقى يدخل فصوله ، ندخل الفصل المدرسة كلها. كان فيه بنات مسلمات، البنات المسلمات يطلعوا برة يلعبوا في الحوش، او يقعدوا برة الباب كدة علي دكك

المحاور: لـ يعني مدخلوش الكنيسة في الصلاة ؟

سهام بطرس: لاء كله يدخل.كله يدخل ، كله يدخل: اول حصة بقي البنات المسيحيات يقعدوا في الفصل والبنات المسلمات يبقي في دكك ذي اللي بيقعدوا عليها، يقعدوا برة الباب بس يبقوا سامعين المُدرسة بتقول ايه، كانت المدرسة تقول الدرس كان فيه كتاب كدة اللي هو بتاع سنة خمسة و ستة.[563]

Singing of religious hymns and prayer services was an essential part of this religious morning ritual, formed around the daily gathering of the whole school. The Muslim students also joined the prayers, even in the 1950s, but were excluded from the religious classes.[564] However, although the Muslim children were not in the classroom during the scripture class, the teachers found a way to let them passively attend; by giving the lesson in a way, the Muslim girls sitting outside could still follow it. This fact reveals how important the teaching of Christian religion remained at Egypt General Mission schools. It demonstrates that the missionaries sought out ways to comply with the letter of the Law 38 (Muslims did not attend the scripture

[561] Dunyā Fārūq, conversation with author, Cairo 3. 8. 2009; and Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 19 and 37).

[562] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 127). Also Mary White helped in the Bethel School housekeeping and worked in the clinic in Suez, although she did not receive a formal training as medical practitioner, but only a short introduction to medicine. See Georg and Mary White, interview by author, tape recording, Cheltenham 8. 11. 2008 (recording 2:14 – 4:08).

[563] "*Sihām Buṭrus*: And afterwards, we were singing religious hymns, and then the headmistress Miss Howarth was praying in English and somebody was translating it to Arabic. Afterwards everybody was entering their classroom, the all the children of the school were entering their classroom. There were Muslim girls, the Muslim girls were going out playing in the yard, or they were sitting outside on a bench. *Interviewer*: So they were not entering the prayer in the church? *Sihām Buṭrus*: No, everybody was entering, everybody was entering, everybody was entering. So during the first lesson the Christian Girls were attending the class and the Muslim Girls were sitting on benches, as they are sitting on now. They were sitting outside, but they were still hearing what the teacher was saying. The teacher was giving the lesson according to such a book, there were books composed for the fifth and sixth grade. " These books for the fifth and sixth grade were actually religious textbooks, as the explanation following the quoted passage showes. See Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 025-026).

[564] Also according to Sāmiya Ḥabīb descriptions, the Muslim children were present at the daily prayer, but did not have to attend the scripture class. See Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 31-35).

class), but also that they were trying to adhere to their principles and continue teaching the Christian faith, at least to those Muslim children who were willing to listen carefully.

In scripture classes the teachers at the Bethel School drew their teaching from religious textbooks. They told stories from the Bible and explained them. Furthermore, the students had to learn hymns and Bible verses by heart.[565] Unlike in Sunday school, the pupils got examined in scripture class.[566] According to the religious textbooks, and the verses for memorisation and stories for children I found, the following topics are prevalent: guilt/sinfulness of the human being, deserved punishment as a consequence of the sinfulness, and, finally, the possibility of repentance and salvation through Jesus Christ.[567] Considering this, it was very likely that these topics (in particular the importance of the salvation) were discussed in various forms in the scripture classes. However, Christian religion was also imparted and practiced outside the assembly hall and class room. The missionary annually performed the Nativity play with the children- the younger children played animal parts and the older ones could act as biblical persons.[568]

The impact of religious teaching and the value of the daily prayers are evaluated differently by my interview-partners.[569] The prayer in the assembly hall was considered as a constant element of the daily routine. None of the interviewees seemed unhappy with this regular event, with some reporting enjoyment at the singing of hymns.[570] In contrast, the evaluation of scripture class is less homogeneous, especially when we take Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm's opinion into account. Sihām Buṭrus describes her experiences in scripture class without any evident evaluations, and only mentions that she often told her father what they learned in religion since he was interested in this field.[571] So concluding from this fact, he at least must have regarded the religious teaching as valuable. Sāmiya Ḥabīb retrospectively appreciated that they learned verses and hymns by heart, and also that what they learned in religious instructions matched

[565] Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 375-377). Sāmiya Ḥabīb was learning her first hymn by heart at the school and knows it until today. See, Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 204).
[566] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 232-237).
[567] *Annī ḥafiẓtu kalāmak*; Ẓaki, *Kitāb jihād jalīla fi sabīl al-faḍīla*; and *Kitāb durūs madrasiyya dīniyya*. These printed textbooks are not from the MECO archives. However it is very likely that these books (or similar ones) were used in Egypt General Mission schools, since most of them were printed by the Nile Mission Press, which was closely collaborating with the EGM.
[568] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 037).
[569] Also within the missionary community in Egypt, there were discussions on how religious teaching and practices at school could be made more valuable. The daily prayer for example was not always regarded as per se meaningful, as this quote illustrates: "A chapel service can be the most pointless assembly imaginable, or it can be made a vital affair. (…) The very regularity of it constitutes a peril. It is always exposed to two hazards, longevity and dullness." See McClanahan, "Direct Religious Instruction through Class Room and School Devotions," 53.
[570] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 204 and 226-227).
[571] Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 525, 527-530 and 534-537).

what was practiced in her Protestant family.[572] Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm from the EGM-school in Ismailia however, did not profit from the scripture classes at his school. He found the lessons difficult to follow. He experienced the teacher as unmotivated and the content as not age-appropriate:

المحاور: حضرتك استفدت من الدين ؟
يعقوب إبراهيم: لأ مأستفدتش ، اقول لك استفدت (laughing) اصل كانت قراية من الكتاب كذا كذا (short pause) طاب بيديني حاجات تانية قصص او بتاع، هوكل اللي كنا بنتعلمه صحيح لما كنا نخش مدارس الاحد ، بيدونا صورة مكتوب عليها الايه الذهبية وقصص.[573]

Values, Impacts and Gender

Categories, such as "teaching" and "learning", "values", "character" or "interreligious relations" and their assocations to other concepts and subcategories, are of crucial importance to the subchapter on the English Mission College. These categories are also repeatedly mentioned in my previous reflections and interpretations concerning the interactions within the Bethel School and are well grounded in the sources. However, I have not systematically explored these categories for they generally appear in similar contexts and are associated with similar sets of (sub-)categories, as in the sources of the English Mission College. Still, in certain cases, differences can be found and these variations will be explored in this section so as to approach the complexity of, and to take into account, the different institutional settings.[574]

Considering „teaching" and „learning"-relations, the experiences of the former missionary teacher Margaret Smith only slightly contribute to a greater vations within these categories on a conceptual level. Still, the interview provides two revealing insights. Firstly, it shows an example of successful "learning by example" approach. Miss Smith mentions that she aimed to impart an interest for nature as she regarded this as part of a broader education, helping the

[572] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 193-197).
[573] "*Interviewer*: Did you profit from the religious class? *Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm*: No, I did not profit, should I tell you I profited? (laughing) Since the reading from this and that book (short pause), so he could have taught us something else, stories for example or other things. We really learned something in the Sunday school lessons, they gave us a picture, and it was written on it the verse with the golden rule, and [they told us] stories." See Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 8. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 131-132 and also 129-130).
[574] In the terminology of the Grounded Theory this procedure is called "Axial Coding". Thereby Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss clarify: "To be verified (that is, regarded as increasingly plausible) hypothesis must be indicated by the data over and over again. An unsupported hypothesis must be critically evaluated to determine if it is false or if the observed events indicate a variation of the hypothesis (different conditions, indicating a different form). A major strategy in grounded theory is to seek systematically the full range of variation in the phenomena under scrutiny." See Corbin and Strauss, "Grounded Theory Research," 13. See also Strauss, *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung*, 101-10; and Berg and Milmeister, "Im Dialog mit den Daten das eigene Erzählen der Geschichte finden," 13-8.

children "in living in the world".[575] Although the former teacher is rather sceptical concerning the success of her teaching, the alumni of the Bethel School vividly remember her love for animals and plants. This love inspired the former students to such an extent that the appreciation for the beauty of nature has become an inherent part of their lives.[576] Miss Smith had an authentic love for nature, and her fascination laid the groundwork for the successful teaching by example.

The second insight based on the analysis of the interview with Miss Smith, reveals that the categories "teaching" and "learning" are not a priori associated with certain institutional roles and positions. Although Miss Smith, as British missionary and teacher, was in a teaching and leading position within her institution, she was well aware how much she still had to learn in order to fulfil her duty in Egypt properly. Thereby she learned from experienced missionaries as well as from Egyptian colleagues, who acted as role models for her, particularly in the field of human relations.[577] Thus, the interview with Miss Smith shows that in the missionary context, the association of the category "learning" cannot be limited to the indigenous societies as foreign teachers also partook in "learning"-relations.

Unlike the interviewees of the English Mission College, the accounts of the former Bethel School students are less informative in respect to the procedural aspect of "teaching" and "learning". Only Sāmiya Ḥabīb, who later became a primary teacher herself, illustrates certain modes of teaching at school. Although rote learning was a common form of teaching at the Bethel School,[578] Sāmiya Ḥabīb also highlights that the teachers (unlike in the government school) were anxious to explain and found creative ways to do so:

المحاور: ازاي هم كانوا بيدرسوكوا الحاجات يعني يشجعوكوا
سامية حبيب: الدروس في المدرسة يعني، انا كنت داءماً بحس ان المدارس الحكومة (sic) مكانتش بتهتم قوي مثلاً ان يبقى فيه وسائل ايضاح. هم كانوا بيجيبوا وسائل ايضاح ودي كانت حاجة فاكرها قوي. كان في لوحات بتبقي متعلقة وحاجات بتساعدنا. وكان في الحساب كنا بنجيب فول وذرة نعد عليها، وكانوا بيهتموا قوي ان الحجات بتبقي بتسهل عملية الدراسة، وكمان حتي في الالعاب كان فيه (k) انا فاكرة، كان فيه حاجات هم بيخترعوها يعني حلوة (...).[579]

[575] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 144-145). The whole passage has been quoted in the last section.
[576] Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 012, 023, 062 and 493-497); and Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 309-310).
[577] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 048-050, 057-064 and 114-117).
[578] On rote learning: Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 084); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 375).
[579] "*Interviewer*: How did they teach you the things, how did they motivate you? *Sāmiya Ḥabīb*: At the lessons at school, I mean, I was always had the feeling that in government schools they weren't very motivated to use for example means for explanation. They [the teachers of the Bethel School] were using means for explanation and this was something I remember very well. There were boards hanging and things that helped us. And in math, we used beans and corn grains in order to count; they were very much concerned to simplify the teaching, and even

The teachers tried to facilitate their explanation by visualisation. According to Sāmiya Ḥabīb, they also tried to teach the pupils the importance of sharing, and she mentions, as an example, that they had to share the crayons in drawing class.[580] The creative subjects, such as drawing, needlework and singing, were considered more important than in the government school.[581] Sāmiya Ḥabīb liked these fields very much and they became important in her career as a teacher. Furthermore, she was also inspired in her teaching by the techniques of visualisation she became acquainted with during her school time.[582] Sāmiya Ḥabīb apparently remembers and evaluates her school days in the context of her later experiences as a teacher, affecting her interpretation and memories of the Bethel School.

In contrast to the procedural aspects of "teaching" and "learning", the impact of education is also stressed by EGM-school alumni. Similar to former English Mission College students, the impact of school is evaluated with weight on the level of values. It is insightful to compare the Bethel School in Suez (and also the EGM boys' school in Ismailia) to the English Mission College in order to explore the particular values and virtues the former students associate with their education.

All the alumni consider the values they had learned at the school as having been important for their life. Furthermore, the moral taught at school is generally regarded as having been completely compatible with the values learned at home.[583] The interviewees generally similar values that they had learned at school, namely; honesty, respect and friendliness but also discipline, orderliness, punctuality and cleanliness.[584] By comparing the Egypt General Mission schools with the English Mission College we do not find any essentially different values taught at either, just the kind of values stressed by the alumni is different. A former student of the Bethel School for example answered the question what she learnt of importance at school, as follows:

المحاور: بالنسبة لك اه ايه الحاجات المهمة اللي انتي اتعلمتيها في المدرسة ديه لحياتك ؟

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in sports there were (k) I remember, there were choosing nice things to play." See Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 238-239).

[580] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 105).

[581] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 175-176).

[582] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 072 and 249-255).

[583] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo (transcript l.039-040); Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 140-141); Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 525-533); Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l.082-083 and 309-310); and Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 483-500).

[584] Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 50); Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 8. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 206-209 and 270-271); Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 066, 072 and 079); Dunyā Fārūq, conversation with author, Cairo 3. 8. 2009; and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 155-161 and 549-552).

سامية حبيب: حاجات كتير، حاجات كتير قوي. هي فادتني في حياتي بعد كدة، الامانة والنظام والنظافة، وحب الفن، وحب الحاجات اليدوية، الشغل اليدوي. ده كل ده ساعدني بعد ما كبرت اتعلمت اخيط، اتعلمت اطرز اتعلمت اشتغل تريكوه. الحاجات ده بالذات الواحد لما بيتعلمها وهو صغير، بتساعده بيكبر فيها. لكن لو ما اتعلمهاش وهو صغير صعب يتعلمها وهو كبير.[585]

Honesty, cleanliness, orderliness and discipline, the virtues of the European petit bourgeois, are repeatedly mentioned in the conversation with former Bethel students and regarded as being very important.[586] These virtues were also crucial in the education offered at the English Mission College but, following the memories of its students, further values not mentioned in the interviews with former Students of EGM-schools, were experienced as having been of a more fundamental importance. The former EMC students experienced their education as having laid focus on the formation of a virtuous and independent personality.[587] Therefore self-dependence, honesty, courage and critical faculty are also characteristics associated with the education at the College.

In the quoted passage Sāmiya Ḥabīb highlights, in addition to the importance of certain values, how she learned needlework and sewing at the Bethel School. Thereby she considers this kind of handicraft as part of the creative and artistic skills taught at school.[588] The missionaries, and not only those from the Egypt General Mission, promoted needlework and sewing as an important part of their girls' education and in their work with women. These skills were taught from the beginning of their activities in the nineteenth century.[589]

The missionaries' motives to teach needlework and sewing to women and girls are insinuated in the sources, rather than openly expressed and reflected upon. Apparently, for the missionaries, teaching of this kind of handicraft was self-evident and a necessary part of female education. Hence, further reflections on the objectives to teach needlework seemed superfluous. However, certain aspects showing the usefulness of needlework for girls are mentioned in missionary reports. Needlework, sewing and rug making was regarded as a productive kind of work in terms of usefulness for the family and also in financial terms. The girls were also well

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[585] „*Interviewer*: For you personally, what were the important things you learnt for life in this school? *Sāmiya Ḥabīb*: A lot of things, a very lot of things; honesty, orderliness (or discipline) and cleanliness, and the love of art, and handicraft, the handmade articles. All this helped me later, when I grew older I learned to sew and I learned to stitch and I learned to make warp knitting. These things, in particular if you learn them when you are little, help you when you grow up practicing them. However, if you don't learn it when you are young, then its difficult to learn it when you are grown up." See Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 198-200).

[586] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 037-042); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 395-397).

[587] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 2-5, 241-265 and 278-285); Buṭrus Fahmī, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 1. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 132-133); and Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo (transcript l. 187-200).

[588] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 019 and 173-175).

[589] Sedra, "John Lieder and his Mission in Egypt," 231.

aware of the financial benefits they could create with their handicraft. In a missionary report, the example of an older girl from a poorer family is mentioned. She suggested doing needlework in her spare time in order to cover her school fee. This suggestion was considered as a strategy in solving financial problems in similar situations. Soon the missionaries started selling the handicrafts, usually to the missionary friends abroad, in order to cover for the fees of the girls.[590] Furthermore, the missionaries highlighted that girls and women learned to sew and repair cloths for other family members, what contributed to their estimation and position within their family.[591]

Needlework and sewing was not only a productive work that could create an extra income for the family, it was a gainful activity that was completely compatible with the woman's ideal role as caring housewife and mother.[592] By teaching this kind of handicraft skills, the missionaries intended to contribute to the girls' preparation for their future occupation in child rearing and household management. Furthermore, as Sāmiya Ḥabīb states, for needlework and sewing concentration and patience is needed, and therefore this kind of handicraft is also associated with discipline.[593] Sewing and needlework did not only have a practical value but was moreover an activity related to certain characteristics and values. In the western discourses on domesticity, as Sarah A. Gordon notes, sewing "represented a set of ideas on women and their roles. It evoked ideas of discipline, thrift, motherly love, beauty, and production."[594] The woman, who cares well for her family, and who is industrious, clean, thrifty and still primarily living in the private sphere of her own house, also met the ideals of many Egyptians and also of Islamic reformers. Although certain fields taught in missionary schools, such as foreign language or music, were regarded as rather problematic by the reformers, they propagated the promotion of sewing and needlework skills for Muslim girls, and associated these activities with a similar symbolic dimension.[595]

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[590] Collinson, "Thirty-Eight Annual Report 1935," 39. Evidence that usually also missionary friends were buying the handicrafts: "We could have many more girls in this class but we realize that many of our friends who would love to help us in buying the rugs and needlework find it impossible to do so because of the economic situation." See Murdoch, "Anfoushy," 35. Also in other missionary institutions the handicrafts produced by the girls was sold, see Baron, "Orphans and Abandoned Children in Modern Egypt," 28.

[591] Robinson, "Shebin needs Prayer," 13; and Götte, *Lebensbilder zweier ägyptischer Frauen*, 6-7.

[592] The missionaries' ideal of the wise mother and competent housewife is studied in Chapter 3.2.2 on health, cleanliness conceptions and hygienic practices.

[593] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 309-310).

[594] Gordon, *'Make It Yourself'*, chap. 3, p. 35.

[595] Herrera, "'The Soul of a Nation'," 289-91. Critical considerations concerning the emerging of the "modern" female model as wife and mother in the Middle East, promoted by Islamic reformers as well as by missionaries, see Abu-Lughod, "Feminist Longings and Postcolonial Conditions," 8-11; and Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play," 135-50. Sewing and needlework was also part of the government girls' curriculum in 1918, see Baron, "Orphans and Abandoned Children in Modern Egypt," 21.

Needlework and sewing were not school subjects, but may be considered as a gendered activity contributing to the establishment of a certain female ideal. By learning needlework and sewing, the girls acquired skills that boys and men usually did not master. Hence, engaging in this kind of handicraft- especially when practiced within a domestic framework- promoted the establishment of a distinct female identity, and can be regarded as a form of "doing gender".[596]

The comparison of the hygienic practices at the Bethel School with those of the boys' boarding school in Ismailia can provide a further insight to how gender was "done" in the framework of Egypt General Mission schools. According to Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm, not only the cleanliness of their clothes and bodies were regularly checked, but furthermore the boys had to shower everyday:

يعقوب إبراهيم: كنا بنقوم نصحي في ميعاد معين، مثلا الساعة 6 الصبح، 6.30 انا مش عارف، نخش دورة المياة الصبح من تحت ونطلع، أه وكنا ناخد، دش في المية الساقعة شتا وصيف، الدش وسائع

المحاور: ولية سائع ؟

يعقوب إبراهيم: هو كدة، تعليماتهم كدة. مفيش مية سخنة، انا أخش تحت الدش واطلع انشف والبس، وبعدين نفطر (...).[597]

Cleanliness and hygiene were important both in the girls' and in the boys' school. However, Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm does not only describe a form of daily hygienic practice. The cold water is associated furthermore with what he calls "their teachings" (*taʿlīmāthum*). According to these teachings, and taking into account his emphasis on the cold water, the shower had to be every day, regardless of the season, and it had to be cold. In particular in winter, the pupils experienced the cold water in the morning as unpleasant.[598] In contrast, the girls of the boarding school in Suez only took a bath once a week and then received fresh clothes.[599] The daily cold shower at the boys' school was therefore rather a procedure to toughen the boys' bodies. The toughened body is part of a conception of masculinity implying that men can bear unpleasant experiences or even pain. In Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm's account, the topic of corporal punishment has much more weight than in the interviews with former alumni of the girls' school. I would argue that the practice of corporal punishments was not only part of school discipline, but also part of the procedures to harden and form a manly body.

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[596] Gildemeister, "Doing Gender," 137-43; and Opitz, *Geschlechtergeschichte*, 27-30.

[597] "*Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm*: We got up at a certain time at six o'clock, or half past six, I don't know, we entered the washrooms downstairs and went up. Oh yes, we were taking showers with cold water in winter as well as in summer, the water was cold. *Interviewer*: Why cold? *Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm*: It was like that, these are their teachings. There was no hot water, I entered the shower and went up to dry off and that's it. Then we ate breakfast (…)." See Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 8. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 23-25).

[598] Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 8. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 219).

[599] Margaret Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Cirencester 11. 11. 2008 (transcript l. 145).

2.3 Traces of the Educational Work

During the anti-missionary agitations in the 1930s the following fatwā was issued by the Azhar:

يوجب عليكم الاسلام ان تنبذوا و تهجروا كل من يعرض ابنه أو بنته أو قريبه للدخول في هذه الاماكن الخبيثة والبيئات الضالة. ان من يدخل ولده أو مريضه في هذه الاماكن الموبوءة بعد ان افتضح أمرها وتبينت الاعمال المروعة التي ترتكب فيها لهو الرجل المحتقر في نظر الدين بل الخارج من حظيرة الاسلام ان كان عالما بتلك النتائج التي يقصدها المبشرون راضياً بها.[600]

With this fatwā the Corps of High ʿUlamāʾ was condemning Muslim parents who enrolled their children in mission schools or introduced members of their family to a missionary hospital. This fatwā can be considered as an involvement in the anti-missionary movements, in order to react upon the criticism which reproached the Azhar as being too lenient with the missionaries.[601] However, this fatwā still shows that missionary institutions, and in particular schools, were regarded as being a powerful instrument of impact on individuals and on Egyptian society. The missionaries shared this belief (although of course, their evaluation was quite contrary to the judgment of the ʿUlamāʾ) and intended to have a crucial impact on the life and attitudes of their students, thereby also contributing in manners which would affect the communities.

In this subchapter, I will assess the impacts of the missionaries' educational work, especially that of the institutions studied and, in doing so, consider them along with the objectives of the missionary schools. The sources -those available and examined- provide good insights into their impacts on the level of individuals, their biography and experiences as well as, to a certain extent, on an institutional level. However, the influence of missionary education on the social level (although claimed by the missionaries and feared by the ʿUlamāʾ) is more difficult to grasp. I regard the impact of the educational work to be closely associated with processes of cultural exchange. Following the source analysis of the previous subchapters, the obtained categories aim to comprehend the results and functionalities of cultural entanglements, which will be approached, described and interpreted in this subchapter.

[600] "Islam obliges you to renounce and abandon everybody who is allowing his son or daughter or relative to attend in these vicious places and strayed environments. Who commits his son or a sick person of his family to those infected places, after he was exposed to our order (?) and after these horrible deeds committed in these place became apparent, is not only a scornful man regarding the religion, but he is also leaving the sphere of Islam, if he knows the objects the Missionaries are aiming at and is satisfied with." See "Qarār hayʾat kibār al-ʿUlamāʾ bi-al-Azhar al-Sharīf," 6.

[601] Ryad, "Muslim Response to Missionary Activities in Egypt," 281-83.

Schools and Intentions

Studying intentions within missionary educational work, and considering the available sources, the temptation to focus solely on the objects pursued by the missionary societies and educators is great. However, schools can only operate, if there are students, and as is the case for private schools and missionary schools, the parents' expectations and decisions are crucial. Following the traces in the sources which point to the parents' motives for sending their children to missionary school (unfortunately there are no sources available where parents express their intentions and views directly), their main concern seemed to be the quality of the education and the prospects for the future. The parents, who could actually afford to choose between different schools, must have considered the education at missionary schools as superior to the schooling in government schools. The teaching of at least one European language at missionary schools was regarded as beneficial in the context of colonial Egypt.[602] Therefore, the principal of the school praised the educational success at the English Mission College at their Speech Days. At these special occasions, parents were present and the school attempted to prove the high quality of education by mentioning the good results in national and international exams as well as by awarding the best students with prizes.[603]

The missionaries, including those from the English Mission College and from the Egypt General Mission schools, were in fact intending to provide a good education in the ordinary school subjects. Accounts written for missionary supporters, whereby some of these supporters clearly favoured direct evangelistic works over school work, proudly highlight the good results in the exams.[604] However, the missionary educators would have preferred to adhere less to the government curriculum, while the parents expected a certificate that was open for further education. They requested an education which would be recognised in Egyptian society and within the educational system in Egypt, thus enabling access to secondary schools or to the University.[605]

In order to meet the parents' expectations, the missionaries' schools introduced the possibility of attending the Egyptian government examination and increasingly began to follow the government syllabus. In doing so, the missionary educators reacted to the demand of the parents and Egyptian society. The missionaries themselves regarded the government examinations,

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[602] In the context of French and Catholic schools, although the motives of the parents are also applicable to Protestant schools, see Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales*, 774-77.
[603] Butcher, Douglas: English Mission College Speech Day and Prize Giving: Principal's Speech. 02.05.1952, AEDE, Box 2II, File: Speech Day & Prize Giving May 2, 1952.
[604] King, *A School Story*, 11-2; King, "Field Report," 19; and Howarth, "Suez," 17.
[605] Naish, *Wonders in Egypt*, 6; and Ministry of Education Report by H.M. Inspectors: The English Mission College, Cairo, inspected on 8th, 9th and 10th March 1949. AEDE, Bundle 49a, p. 2.

and in particular the curriculum for the girls, as unprofitable and not valuable to a proper education. Similarly, in certain missionary schools (such as the English Mission College) the Arabic language was taught but not extensively. In this case too, interventions from the government and requests from parents lead to a more intensive Arabic teaching.[606] Hence, the expectations of the parents can clearly be regarded as a factor of impact from the Egyptian society on the missionary institutions, particularly with regard to the subjects taught at school.

A further aspect of education, regarded as crucial by the parents as well as by missionary educators, was character and moral education. At the 1937 Conference on Education, the missionaries highlighted (as to be seen in all of the examined papers) the centrality of imparting moral values and of forming a virtuous personality. They claimed that missionary education was pursuing, or at least should pursue, the ideal to shape honest, righteous, self dependent persons, who were able to use their freedom responsibly and who were also willing to serve their community.

This ideal was indeed pursued in the character education of the English Mission College, as demonstrated in statements of interviewees and also passages of printed sources, such as from the booklet *Foundation Stones* or the report of the British school inspector. The sense of responsibility towards the community was particularly promoted in extracurricular activities and in crusader class. On these occasions for instance, missionaries were invited and informed about their alphabetisation campaigns. Furthermore, the school was also involved in helping Palestinian refugees after 1948.[607]

The Egypt General Mission did not emphasise character training as a crucial objective, although the schooling of good manners and morals was an important aim of their education. Furthermore, reports written for missionary friends also highlighted that this kind of teaching was a reason why parents sent their children to EGM-schools. The ideals of self dependence and the responsible use of freedom, however, were not mentioned as part of the educational objectives. In addition, in the interviews these values were not mentioned at all, unlike in the interviews with English Mission College alumni. The Egypt General Mission understood moral education primarily in terms of teaching values such as obedience, honesty, orderliness, politeness and interest in the Gospel. I assume that most parents of the children were happy

[606] Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales*, 464-5.
[607] Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4.2.2010 (transcript l. 147-154 and 324-327); Foundation Stones, *1924-1949*, 61; and Information from Girls' School for Speech Day. 02.05.1952, AEDE, Box 2II, File: Speech Day & Prize Giving May 2, 1952. The American College for Girls was also pursuing very similar ideals and was also involved in social activities, see Sproul, *The American College for Girls*, 170-80.

with the impartment of these kinds of values (except for the interest in the Gospel in the case of Muslim parents), and as a result the numbers of students steadily increased.

As the discussions at the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh show, Protestant missionaries in general considered the spread of Christian religion as crucial objective. The English Mission College and the Egypt General Mission even regarded religious teaching and their performance as evangelistic agencies, as the major objective of their work. Religious education was considered accordingly as the foundation for the character training and moral education which was expected by most of the parents. Though Christian parents might have welcomed religious teaching, Muslim parents were not always pleased that their children had to attend the service in the morning or scripture classes.[608] However, concluding from the interviews and the conversations with Muslims, most Muslim parents may have considered religious teaching not as harmful but rather as beneficial in terms of moral education.[609] Although it was a crucial aim of the missionaries, conversions of Muslims (or at the EMC also of Jews), as a result of the influence of missionary schools, were rare. If a student was interested in the gospel or if he/she even converted, then it was a major issue for joyful discussion in the reports for the missionary friends.

The emphasis on the importance of religion might evoke the impression that the whole everyday teaching was dominated by evangelistic endeavours. The strategies of the two schools in handling Law 38, which prohibited Christian teaching to Muslims, shows that religious teaching was also -in practice- a concern. However, following the interviews with the former students and with Margaret Smith, daily school-life was shaped by diverse activities not related to religion. Furthermore, the teachers pursued educational objectives and were concerned with imparting many matters and values not associated with Christianity. The missionary reports evoke the impression that the missionary teachers were only concerned with evangelism and care for converts. The teachers however handled religious teaching in everyday life in a much

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[608] Janet Yaʿqūb's parents wanted a Christian education for their children and Sihām Buṭrus' father was interested to hear, what they learned in religious classes. See Janet Yaʿqūb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 4. 2. 2010 (transcript l. 003-008); and Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 525). On Muslim parents not pleased about Christian teaching at school, see French, "Survey of Developments in Mission Education in Egypt in the Past Decade," 31.

[609] Kawkab Aḥmad, conversation with author, Cairo 1. 9. 2009; Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 186-200 and 463-470); and Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 26. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 101). What parents appreciated about Catholic schools (Christian parents mainly the religious teaching, while Muslims parents the teaching of morals), see Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales*, 774-75. Also Islamic reformers such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh associate morals with religious and even Christian teaching. Although for him missionary schools were not unproblematic, he regards them as superior to public education programs, where no religion at all was taught, since at least in Christina schools basic moral was taught. See Haj, *Reconfiguring Islamic Tradition*, 119-21.

more pragmatic manner and adapted it in order to fit in with the requirements of a school in Egypt.

Results and Functionalities of cultural Exchange Processes

The former missionary students of the English Mission College as well as of the Bethel School in Suez considered the time and experiences at their school as important for the formation of their character and value system. The habitus and the value system, including moral values, are the levels where the alumni detect the major impacts of their education. In contrast the acquisition of school knowledge and related skills, play a minor role in the interviews.

The missionaries aimed to educate virtuous characters and moral persons and the alumni associate values such as honesty, friendliness, respect, discipline, orderliness and cleanliness with the teaching at their school. It is noteworthy that the emphasis of the English Mission College and the Egypt General Mission schools on character training or on moral education, apparently had an effect on the kinds of values the alumni emphasis as crucial for their learning. While the girls in Suez were taught honesty, discipline, orderliness and cleanliness, the focus of the College lies on honesty, respect, self-dependence, courage and critical faculty. There are two explanations for this difference, which are not mutually exclusive. First, the English Mission College was both a primary and secondary school, while the Bethel School was only a primary school. The values stressed by the College alumni might have been taught, when they were older and more mature. Second, the difference of values is connected with the different social backgrounds. The girls of lower middle class should become disciplined, competent and caring mothers, while parents of the upper-middle class expected their children to become virtuous, respected and independent personalities.[610]

Former students of both schools remember their education not as constrained to the teaching of the (in economic terms) "useful" school subjects. Sports and games, artistic and creative subjects such as singing, drawing and needle work as well as the extra curricular activities provided by the English Mission College, contributed to what an alumni called a "rounded education". This "rounded education" impacted upon the lives and worldviews of the students in terms of providing general knowledge, of shaping their tastes (for instance developing the sense for certain kinds of music) and of enabling them to discover their talents. In fact, also

[610] In the case of a class related education of moral values, the schools would contribute to the maintenance of what Pierre Bourdieu calls "class habitus". Following Boudieu's reflections on the French educational system (although he also see parallel tendencies also in educational systems of other societies), school systems have the tendency to reproduce the existing social order. See Bourdieu, *Praktische Vernunft*, 36-47; and Steiner, *Bourdieu lesen und verstehen*, 24-5.

Margaret Smith explained that she did not intend to teach only the ordinary school knowledge but tried to evoke the pupils' interest on broader issues, such as in nature. This "rounded education", although not expressed in this term, corresponds to the self-understanding of missionary education expressed at the 1937 Conference on Education. There, a missionary claims that their education, unlike the government education (and here it is noteworthy that also the interviewees often contrast their education with the schooling at government schools), provides real training for life and contributes to the formation of happier individuals.

The interreligious relations at the Bethel School and the English Mission College are described as harmonious and friendly by the alumni, despite the evangelistic and Christian character of the schools. Muslim and Christian interviewees emphasise that all the students were treated equally by teachers and school administration. Furthermore, the religious affiliation was not experienced as relevant for the relations between the students and was no obstacle in forming friendships. Considering the emphasis on harmony, mutual respect and friendliness, I conclude that my interviewees regard religious differences as a potential for conflicts, but consider their interreligious experiences at school as an antithesis to sectarian tensions. Furthermore, respect and affection between religious groups are regarded as valuable. Therefore, the good interreligious relations at school together with the equality experienced there, promoted tolerance and respect towards members of other religions in their life after school.

Christian and Muslim alumni associate religion in general, and religious education in particular, with the formation of values and morals. The Muslims interviewed found scripture class interesting and instructive, and consider it as valuable insight into Christian religion. Still, they did not ascribe a spiritual value to the religious education at school since they rationalise it as a secularised knowledge of Christianity. They highlight their Muslim identity, but consider the essence of all the monotheistic religions as a coherent morality. I suggest that in order to prevent an identity crisis in religious matters, Muslim students developed this attitude towards religion taught at school.[611]

The Christians on the other hand, experienced the values taught at their school as being part of the moral tone and as a result of the Christian spirit of the school.[612] This school spirit, which is considered by the Christian alumni as unique for the EMC, was felt as a quality of the interpersonal relations, especially in the relations to the teachers. The teachers' religiosity, man-

[611] Furthermore, there were powerful discourses in the Egyptian society of the first half of the twentieth century, forming a functionalisation of (Muslim) religion in schools in terms of using religion in order to teach morals, values and a patriotic spirit. See Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work*, 9-10 and 57-61.
[612] The special school spirit, characterised by harmony and friendliness, is in particular highlighted by Christian EMC alumni and play no comparable role in the accounts of former Bethel School students.

ifest in their attitudes and modes of actions in everyday life, was thereby regarded as crucial for this spirit. Hence, for the Christian students, regardless of their sectarian affiliation, the Christian spirit of the school was evaluated as beneficial for their Christian religiosity. The close bonds and the long-lasting relations between EMC alumni are regarded as an effect of the special school spirit. Furthermore, this special spirit at the school was crucial for efficient "learning" and "teaching"-processes, in particular in the cases of "teaching by example".

Good interpersonal relations are constitutive for teaching and learning processes. "Teaching" and "learning" proved to be well grounded and suitable categories to describe functionalities and to contribute to the understanding of cultural exchange processes. The perspective of entangled histories implies that processes of transfer and appropriation affected all involved. In fact, the interviewed teacher as well as the students regarded themselves in learning positions.[613] However, in missionary reports on the schoolwork, the European missionaries appear usually only in the teaching position and their willingness to learn from indigenous teachers and employees, or even from students, is rarely expressed.[614]

The examination of the source material along the categories "learning" and "teaching" reveals a number of subcategories as well as functionalities characterising these two procedural categories. "Teaching by explaining" for instance is highlighted. Alumni of both schools stated that their teachers were eager to explain the subjects well, thereby using appropriate methods. "Teaching by explaining" correspond to a "learning by understanding", where the student has to make an effort, by assimilating and accommodating the new knowledge.[615] In other words, the process of understanding can be described as an appropriation of certain knowledge and skills, and the adaption of them to the existing knowledge structures. Thereby, the students gain the ability to use the acquired skills and knowledge in different contexts. If somebody understands something, they know how to use the knowledge or the skills and hence what was learned potentially becomes part of the praxis.

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[613] See Randeria, "Geteilte Geschichte und verwobene Moderne," 91-4. Similar assumptions on bidirectional transfers and acquisitions in cultural exchange processes, see Burke, *Kultureller Austausch*, 13-24.

[614] One of the rare cases where the missionaries reported, how they included a suggestion of a Egyptian school girl and hence "learned" from her, see Collinson, "Thirty-Eight Annual Report 1935," 39. Also in the recollections and reflections of a former EGM missionary Egyptian missionaries are mentioned as models and teachers for foreign missionaries. See Whitehouse, *Do you Remember… ?*, 16-7. The fact, that in missionary reports indigenous people only rarely appear as in the teaching position, reveals that missionary reports are a genre of sources stressing certain aspects and fading out others. Reflection on the source value of missionary reports, see Lunde, "Building Bonny Babies," 84-5.

[615] The terms "assimilation" and "accommodation" are essential terms for Jean Piaget's description of the learning process. He understands "assimilation" as adapting the existing subjective structures to the (new) object/information. The adapted structures converge to the object/the new information and thereby the existing structures are transformed. This is the "accommodative" component of learning. See Scharlau, *Jean Piaget zur Einführung*, 86-94. Peter Burke also uses the term accommodation in order to describe cultural exchange however he does not refer to Piaget. See Burke, *Kultureller Austausch*, 19.

“Rote learning”, where students mechanically acquire knowledge by repetition, appears as contrast to “learning by understanding” and the EMC alumni in particular associate it with the teaching methods of other schools. The knowledge acquired by “rote learning”, was seen as less likely to have an impact on the personality since it was often more remote to the existing structures of knowledge and the usage of the acquired knowledge in practice was less clear. However, the interviewees (including the teacher) did not consider “rote learning” as disadvantageous per se, but as appropriate for certain kinds of topic. Furthermore, “rote learning” seemed to play a more important role at the Bethel School than at the English Mission College. This difference could be explained in a similar manner to the explication of the differing emphasis in character education of the alumni. On the one hand, different social classes could have been a reason for the different degrees of importance of rote learning, or on the other hand the discrepancy between the capabilities of primary and secondary education.

Exemplary situations or persons are also the basis for subcategories of „teaching“ and „learning“. “Learning by exemplary situation” and “teaching by example” are not associated with the impartment of ordinary school knowledge, but these forms of “learning” and “teaching” rather develop their influence on the level of “character” and “values”. Alumni very often depict certain situations in order to illustrate how, for instance, a value (propagated by the school) was understood in the daily practice of school life. These situations provided a practical meaning to rather abstract concepts. In a similar way, the “teaching by example” impacted upon “character” and (moral) “values”, and provided them with practical meanings. However, “teaching by example” refers to exemplary conduct of persons considered as potential role models. By their concrete actions and the corresponding communication, particular “values” receive meaning. Following the interviews examined, students as well as teachers learned by exemplary situations and were taught by the example of other persons.

“Discipline” is also associated with “teaching” and “learning”, though we have to distinguish between the two different notions. On the one hand “discipline” appears as a (predominantly positively connoted) value and as a personal characteristic taught at school. A disciplined person in this sense, obeys the rules of the institution, respects the authorities, works efficiently, and displays a behaviour of orderliness. “Discipline” is thereby closely associated with orderliness, punctuality and cleanliness. On the other hand “discipline” appears as a form of power, shaping everyday life at the schools through various disciplinary mechanisms. Discipline should enable and facilitate teaching in the class room. Furthermore, it is a part of education itself, since discipline involves the extensive practice of certain modes of conduct, hence aiming to sustainably impact upon the behaviour. By providing rewards and by deterring them

from misbehaving, the students were motivated to work efficiently and to behave well. Correction was achieved by a system of punishments, including corporal punishment, and by surveillance by older students (the prefects) as well as by the teachers.

Disciplinary mechanisms imposed certain rules of conduct which dominated the social space and were therefore crucial for the formation and operation of what I call an "ordered space". The schools examined can be considered as "ordered spaces". This type of social space has the character of a specific entity and is created by interpersonal relations (within certain institutionalised patterns) as well as by the individuals' relations to values and norms valid to this social space. These personal and normative relations, together with processes of discursive distinctions from other social spaces, create the specific (symbolic) identity of an "ordered space". Alumni from both schools for instance, compare and demarcate their school (the "ordered space" they used to belong to) to other schools. Thereby they often define the demarcations according to the quality of specific relations or through the comparison of prevalent norms and values. Hence, the symbolic identity is highlighted by ascribing certain qualities to the relations, such as a noticeable (but in clear terms not comprehensible) "school spirit" (or "sacredness").

Considering cultural entanglements, it is crucial that identification with the own "ordered space" (and its symbolic components), allowed to create new identities, which were particularly relevant within this "ordered space".[616] For the alumni, as well as for the teacher interviewed, the identification with the national or cultural background only played a minor role within the framework of the "ordered space". The teachers are perceived primarily as teachers (and not as Britons or Egyptians), and the teacher interviewed did not dissociate herself from her Egyptian colleagues, but stresses rather the difference between Muslims and Christians (however not in connection with her former pupils). Hence, in the school context, students and teachers fundamentally identified themselves with the symbolic components of their "ordered space" and considered the other members of this space as part of the in-group, regardless of their national background. Furthermore, and even more crucial for the analysis of cultural entanglements, the acquired contents, skills, values and virtuous associated with the "ordered space", are seen as being part of the concepts and interactions within this social space, and are not ascribed certain national or cultural (in the sense of orient/occident etc.) contexts. Thus, in the context of cultural entanglements, "ordered spaces" allow the dissolution (or at

[616] Problematisation and critique of concepts of identity, in particular of cultural and national identity, see Hall, "Die Frage der kulturelle Identität, " 180-201.

least the fading) of identities and cultural attributions and promote the formation of new identities and the recontextualisation of attributions.

However, the identification with the school and with its values, concepts and norms is in no way self-evident and indispensable.[617] The functionalities of the "ordered space" were promoting processes of appropriation and transformation. In order to feel dedicated to the school and to identify with it, good interpersonal relations are essential. These relations, and notably those between students and teachers, are also crucial for successful processes of "learning" and "teaching", especially when it comes to „learning by exemplary situation" and „teaching by example". The interpersonal relations in general, and those between students and teachers in particular, are mainly positively remembered. The relations were personal (teachers and students knew each-other) and they are described as being ones of mutual respect. The teachers took the students seriously, and as some alumni highlight, the relations were even friendly and harmonious. In addition, the system of punishment and discipline is generally remembered as being reasonable and human, since they did not experience arbitrariness. Alumni of the EGM-schools were, however, more afraid of their teachers and tend to highlight respect more than former EMC students. Still, all the interviewees regard personal experiences and relations within the institutions as formative for their character and value system.

These positively evaluated relations furthermore contributed to the generally good memories the alumni have of their school time. They are basically happy with the education they received and evaluate the teaching as valuable. Certain criticisms are mentioned by Christian alumni, who found that the English Mission College neglected Egyptian cultural subjects and was oriented too much towards Britain. The generally positive memories and experiences facilitated the acquisition of knowledge, virtues and values from the school. Accordingly, it plays only a minor role if their school time was in fact experienced as happy and valuable, since the retrospective reinterpretation and evaluation is also part of the appropriation process and (ascribed) impact of the school.[618]

For the context of processes of appropriation, it is crucial to note that all the interviewees regard the values and virtues taught at school as completely compatible with those learned at home. School and family can be considered as the two crucial "ordered spaces" for the formation of the habitus, at least until adolescence. Since the parents chose the school for their sons and daughters, and hence were principally convinced by its concept, the children experi-

[617] For instance Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm identified himself much less with his school than for instance Sāmiya Ḥabīb.
[618] Canning, "Problematische Dichotomien: Erfahrung zwischen Narrativität und Materialität," 47-8 and Broda, "Erfahrung, Erinnerungsinterview und Gender," 161-3.

enced systems of values which were seen as compatible to those at home, or they (actively) harmonised the systems. Missionary concepts and objectives, which were neither acknowledged by the family nor by the majority of the indigenous society (such as conversion from Islam to Christianity), could not be harmonised and were therefore rejected.

However, we have to consider, that the values and virtues mentioned by the alumni, such as honesty or respect, were broadly acknowledged in the Egyptian society.[619] These values are abstract and provide a wide semantic range for interpretation. Still, interactions involving processes of learning and teaching provide specific meanings to these values. The propagation of a specific value was accompanied by specific practices. Disciplinary mechanisms are crucial for this functionality, since they involve values which are associated with certain rules of conduct. Thereby values and virtues lose their abstractness and receive a specific meaning in practice, which is trained at school as a part of discipline. As soon as the learners understand the practical meanings of a value and accept it as justified, it receives an actual relevance to the conduct of life. Therefore, values accepted in a society can receive different and new shades of meaning through the functionalities of an "ordered space".

Missionary Schools, Colonialism and Egyptian Society

In the early 1950s the intellectual and writer Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was Minister of Education in Egypt and was present at a meeting of the Foreign Schools Committee. Representatives of missionary schools were also members of this Committee. There, he stated the following in his opening speech:

"There is a mutual work which joins us together and aims at overcoming all difficulties which may hinder our cooperation, and I hope that a relation of friendship will prevail between you and the Ministry of Education and will realize the expected cooperation. I hope too that your long residence among us will result in a 'psychological conditioning' which will realize this cooperation. Be sure that we do not consider foreign education in Egypt as a luxury, but as a necessity for our cultural progress. It is not right to call them 'foreign schools' because you are our friends and helpers in fighting against illiteracy and in teaching a nation which was foremost in the past and which is now in need of the help of her foreign friends so as to realize her increasing cultural aims."[620]

Here, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn expresses the hope and intention for a good and amiable cooperation between Ministry of Education and foreign schools. He articulates a belief in the progress of the

[619] Islamic modernist for instance focused on hygiene, the cultivation and disciplining of the body in their educational ideals and highlighted this-worldly communal norm of ethical being. See Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play," 152-4.
[620] Foreign Schools Committee Meeting: The First Session. Ministry of Education, Cairo, 16.05.1951, AEDE, Box 2 (green), File: Headmaster's and Headmistress' Conference Minutes.

Egyptian nation through education and highlights the common objectives of the Ministry and the foreign schools. The common objectives, which include the fight against illiteracy and ignorance, together with the long presence of these schools in Egypt, lead him to the assumption that "foreign" is the wrong adjective for these schools. Unlike other intellectuals and writers, he does not express the fear that the students might be alienated from their religion or culture, but expresses the conviction that these schools contribute to the cultural aims of Egypt.[621]

Ṭāhā Ḥusain, supporters and opponents of foreign and in particular missionary education, as well as contemporary scholars, credit the important impacts of missionary schools on the Egyptian society.[622] However, my studies on the Bethel School in Suez and on the English Mission College form too narrow a basis to fully consider their impact on the Egyptian society. Therefore, I use my findings from the source analysis together with my research on missionary education (Catholic and Protestant) in general, to reflect upon the manner into the ways social transformations were promoted.

Considering the widespread -and in the middle and upper class very popular- private schools in present day Egypt, one is tempted to see in the missionary school the predecessor of these schools which provide an education in foreign languages. In fact, some of these contemporary institutions, in particular the Catholic schools, but also the Ramses College for Girls (the Former American College for Girls) and the American University of Cairo, were founded by missionaries or groups closely affiliated to missionary societies.[623] Other schools, such as the British and French schools were nationalised after the Suez crisis in 1956. However, the political and educational conditions changed considerably in the course of the 1950s. The government regulations and the supervision of the curriculum and the teachers' qualification intensified, so that by the end of the decade the syllabus converged into the government schools.[624] These developments and the importance of the exams at the end of the year, impacted upon the learning environment as a whole and also upon student-teacher relations. In prestigious institutions, such as in the Ramses College, the quality of education changed, as Christine Sproul notes:

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[621] Ṭāhā Ḥusayn did not always evaluate foreign schools and in particular missionary schools positively, as his articles during the anti-missionary campaign show. Furthermore, after his resignation as Ministry of Education he also criticised irregularities in a French school and questioned, if Egyptian children should be permitted to follow the French curriculum. See Abécassis, *L'enseignement étranger en Egypte et les élites locales*, 706-7.
[622] Salāma, *Athār al-Iḥtilāl al-Briṭānī fī al-Taʿlīm al-Qawmī fī Miṣr (1882-1922)*, 400-15; Abécassis "L'Enseignement étranger en Égypte (1930-1960)," 99-104; Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 217-9; Sharkey, "Missionary Legacies," 86-8; and Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 95-6.
[623] Sproul, *The American College for Girls*, 84-92; Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 149-178; and Burke, "The Founding of the American University in Cairo," 1-9.
[624] Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*, 276-9; and Ikeda, "Toward the Democratization of Public Education", 244.

"Ramses is recognized for its academic excellence but much of the earlier style and philosophy of education has been changed to meet government curriculum and exam demands. Competition for university entrance is keen and students focus on memorizing material that will assure them a high grade on the Thaniwiyyah Ammah. Class sizes are larger and the earlier intimacy between student and faculty is seldom found. There are few school sponsored extracurricular activities because transportation problems in Cairo are prohibitive and because sporting clubs, television, and greater social freedom occupy student interests."[625]

Hence, the pedagogical and educational ideals, such as a close student-teacher relation, and the formation of virtuous, self dependent and widely interested persons, which were propagated by American missionaries and by the English Mission College (to a lesser extend also in the EGM-schools) did not impact upon the educational concepts of Egyptian schools.[626]

However, missionary schools crucially increased their awareness among intellectuals, nationalists and reformers of the importance of educational opportunities for the development of a society. Thereby the combination of secular and religious subjects, and the way that they were taught, had an impact in shaping the foundation of schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[627] Furthermore, the missionary schools were experienced as provocative by many nationalists, Muslim activists and intellectuals, as well as by officials of the Coptic Orthodox Church. The missionaries were regarded as a threat or at least as a competition, and stimulated the establishment of schools by Muslim and Coptic benevolent societies.[628]

The Muslim Brotherhood in particular was strongly opposed to missionary activities. However, this opposition did not prevent them from using similar methods to spread their ideology, and hence they founded schools and among them special schools for girls, combining practical skills with school knowledge.[629] The missionary education of girls was particularly criticised by nationalistic Muslims, whereby they realised that the missionaries could successfully attract girls, since girls' education was neglected and similar Egyptian institutions were scarce. Therefore, schools preparing girls for their female duties in the household, but also re-

[625] Sproul, *The American College for Girls*, 181-2. Highlight in the original. The Thānawiyya ʿĀmma is the high school diploma, which permits the entrance to the university.
[626] Criticism on the educational system in Egypt (also expressed by Egyptian experts), see Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*, 271-8.
[627] Herrera, "'The Soul of a Nation:'," 283-7 and Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work*, 67-77 and 223-30.
[628] It is important to note that while the high clergy of the Coptic Church might had condemned the Protestant and Catholic activities, many Copts enjoyed the possibilities the missionary provided. On the involvement and impact of the Copts, see Salāma, *Athār al-Iḥtilāl al-Briṭānī fī al-Taʿlīm al-Qawmī fī Miṣr (1882-1922)*, 412-5; Reiss, *Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche*, 19-33; and Hasan, *Christians versus Muslims in Modern Egypt*, 71-84.
[629] Langohr, "Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements," 182; Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 274-5 and 286-7; and Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 45-6.

ligious schools for girls were demanded.[630] During the anti-missionary agitations for instance, a writer demanded that the Azhar should enable girls to graduate as religious teachers.[631]

Christian mission in Egypt was imbedded in the concept of British imperialism. Protestant missionary societies generally tried to maintain good relations to the British as well as to Egyptian authorities, whereby the Egypt Inter-Mission Council represented their interests. The English Mission College is a good example of how missionary schools were entangled within colonial Egypt. The College maintained good relations to British and Egyptian officials, and furthermore Egyptian as well as foreign companies supported the College financially. Egyptians, fluent in English and educated according to the model of British public school, were ideal for higher positions in the (colonial) government as well as in international companies. Also the parents of the EMC students must have been convinced that such an education gave their children the best opportunities in a country increasingly connected to the international markets. These estimations, and the high esteem for British education, show that the College was economically and culturally entangled in the colonial context.

However, even the good relations to the authorities did not prevent increasing regulations stipulated by the Egyptian Ministry of Education. Neither could the influence of the missionary societies stop Law 38, prohibiting what the missionaries regarded as essential for their work: the teaching of Christianity to Muslims. Furthermore, Egyptian nationalists and Islamist movements increasingly identified the foreign missionaries with the imperial occupation, leading to a condemnation of their presence and to politically fuelled requests to closely monitor and restrict their activities.[632] By the 1950s, the missionaries had to apply for residency and visa permits at the Egyptian government and their teachers were required to have a teaching diploma recognised by the Egyptian Ministry of Education. Therefore, Heather Sharkey in her book on American Mission in Egypt, concludes: "Once an advantage for Christian missions in the late nineteenth century, Western imperialism had become a liability by the mid-twentieth."[633]

Following the thoughts of Timothy Mitchell and Paul Sedra however, colonialism was more than just the physical presence of European imperial powers and of their political and economic penetration of the colonised societies.[634] They claim that the "colonising power", through various disciplinary mechanisms shaped behaviour, habit and taste: it therefore "col-

[630] Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play," 154-6.
[631] Translation of an article "A practical suggestion for eradicating the evil of evangelism" by Aḥmad al-Munūfī that appeared in al-Siyāsa, July 12, 1933. AEDE, Box 92a (blue), File: Attacks on Missionaries.
[632] Sharkey, "Arabic Antimissionary Treatises," 112-8; and Sharkey, "Empire and Muslim Conversion," 48-57.
[633] Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 220.
[634] Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 14.

onised" the body and mind of an entire people.[635] The modern school system founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī (Mitchell), as well as the Protestant missionary schools of the nineteenth century (Sedra), played a crucial role in creating a new order. The country and its people should be turned into an object meeting the requirements of the colonial power, and hence was "picture-like and legible, rendered available to political and economic calculations."[636] In other words, the "colonising power" and Sedra considers "missionary colonialism" as part of that power aims to gain control of the Egyptian subject, in order to turn them into efficient, obedient and productive parts of the colonial machinery, advancing agricultural productivity and preventing political or religious insurgency. Sedra thereby highlights that in the Protestant missionary schools the "evangelical ethos" of industry, discipline, and order was of crucial importance to their education.[637]

The study of the English Mission College and the Bethel School also revealed that the values "order", "discipline" and (to a lesser degree) "industry" were experienced as important by the interviewed alumni. Furthermore, disciplinary mechanisms impacted upon the behaviour of the children and can be considered as a part of the "ordered spaces" which the schools represent. However, I find Mitchell's and Sedra's hypothesis that (missionary) schools were a mere form of the "colonising power" as problematic and misleading for two reasons.

Firstly, both authors read the schooling processes and methods as teleologically directed to the colonial control of its subjects, making them governable and productive in the colonial economy. However, disciplinary mechanisms and the impartment of what Sedra calls the "evangelical ethos" do not qualify the involved powers to be considered as colonial.[638] In numerous schools in Europe and North America, attended by children from different social classes, similar methods and values were part of the schooling process. Every type of school and each manner of knowledge forms certain subjectivities.[639] Moreover, the formation of disciplined and productive subjects -according to Mitchell the result of the colonial power- also corresponds to decidedly anti-colonial programs, such as the Islamic empowerment by the Muslim Brotherhood.[640] Considering the explicit missionary aim, and the objects they perused in studied schools, the teaching of Christian faith and the education of a virtuous character, in terms of honesty, respectfulness, self-dependence, friendliness and open-mindedness, is high-

[635] Sedra, "John Lieder and his Mission in Egypt," 219-22; and Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 68-75.
[636] Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 33.
[637] Sedra, "Modernity's Mission," 209; Sedra, "John Lieder and his Mission in Egypt," 238-9; and Sedra, "Ecclesiastical Warfare," 299-301.
[638] For an approach to and definition of the term "colonialism" and a general characterisation of colonial relations, see Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus*, 19-22.
[639] Seth, "Changing the Subject".
[640] Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 112.

lighted. The schools also provided subjects such as humanities and music and, at the English Mission College, also extra-curricular activities, aiming to provide a "rounded education", and not simply form obedient and productive subjects for the colonial needs.

Secondly, Mitchell's and Sedra's notion of colonial power reveals two further, intrinsically related problems: on the one hand it implies a series of dichotomies (coloniser/colonised, foreign/indigenous, modern/traditional etc.), which are problematic for apprehending the complexity of culturally entangled spaces and the involved microphysics of power, and on the other hand the "colonising power" conceptualise the Egyptians, in this case the students, as passive objects. Considering that the minds of missionary students were colonised by their education, the learned habits, knowledge, values and concepts must therefore have contributed to a relation of domination. Furthermore, what was learned would have been regarded as foreign and remote to their experience of the realm of everyday life. The interviewed alumni however, describe the learned values and virtuous as completely compatible with what they knew from home. Even if the teaching at school did not correspond to what the children were learning at home, then they still managed to (selectively) appropriate and reinterpret the values, concepts and practices of the school, in order to harmonise them with the expectation of other social spaces. This shows that the students did not have to choose between the options of being passively shaped by the missionaries, or of resistance against the missionaries, but were able to actively select and shape that which might suit their life and the social environment they were part of.[641]

The missionary schools examined, and the general missionary education in Egypt, were therefore active in a colonial context. Many missionaries and missionary teachers might have also shared to some degree, the colonial mindsets prevalent among their contemporaries.[642] However, the relations and impacts of missionary schools, and their roles in the metropolis as well as in the colonial society, are too complex to be reduced to a concept of "colonising power".

[641] There is no need to mention again that power relations were asymmetrically shaped in schools and that the schools aimed to influence the modes of actions of the students. Still, the students were not passive objects, and following Michel Foucault's notion of power (which Mitchell and Sedra claim to follow), power is not possessed by a certain class (for instance of colonisers) and freedom is constitutive for power relations. See Foucault, "Das Subjekt und die Macht"; and Foucault, "Die Macht und die Norm".

[642] Colonial mindset, see Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus*, 112-8. For Egypt, Matthew Rhodes characterises Bishop Gwynne as a missionary minded Anglican clergy, who shared a colonial mindset. See Rhodes, *The Anglican Church in Egypt 1936-1956 and its Relationship with British Imperialism*, 88-91.

3. HEALTH AND CHRISTIAN MISSION

3.1 The Missionaries' Self-Understanding in Medical Mission

Preaching and teaching in order to impact souls and minds were crucial in missionary work. Yet in the second half of the nineteenth-century, missionaries expanded their focus of activity and increasingly provided medical care for the body. The emergence of the medical mission was interwoven with the history of, and developments in, western biomedicine and hygiene. Until the late eighteenth century in particular, evangelical Protestants did not have much respect for physicians. Instead, they propagated a moral conduct of life and bodily hygiene to be principles of health. Furthermore, the evangelical missionaries' antipathy to use medical work as part of their missionary methods was reinforced by the inefficacy of common treatments. The therapies generally practiced by European physicians until the mid-nineteenth century were not suitable to cure the common diseases of the colonies.[643] However, developments in medical knowledge and treatments during the second half of the nineteenth century increasingly provided effective treatments to formerly fatal illnesses in addition to appropriate measures of epidemic and disease prevention. The discovery of anaesthesia and antisepsis, the awareness of the importance of public hygiene and sanitation, as well as the laboratory-based cellular pathology leading to the development of bacteriology, crucially contributed to the improvement of health standards.[644]

Along with these developments in medicine and hygiene, Christ's command to "heal the sick" was increasingly highlighted as a crucial duty of missionary work.[645] Certain medical practitioners, who were active in the missionary field, derived their professional ethos and the associated moral value of their occupation from Jesus' treatment of sick people:

„We do however, find that the Jews segregated lepers, leaving them to associate with foxes, wolves and lions outside the cities and towns. The Spartans killed the babies that were physically weak or deformed. It was Jesus who taught men a new respect for human life and human personality. He came and changed these false ideas. How many diseased people, how many outcasts from society he healed, to how many wretched ones did He restore the grace of health and strength. Through His coming the medical profession was so elevated that it became one of the noblest of all professions."[646]

ʿAbd al-Malik Saʿd, a Protestant medical doctor and speaker at the Egypt Inter-Mission Council conference, describes the ancient Jewish and Greek methods for dealing with dis-

[643] Hardiman, "Introduction," 10-2.
[644] Grundmann, "Mission and Healing in Historical Perspective," 186; and Anderson, "The Changing Pattern of Medical Missions," 3-4.
[645] Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History,* 211-3.
[646] Saad, "The Egyptian Christian Doctor and Possibilities for Evangelism," 34.

eased and disabled people. His examples serve to stress the novel character of Jesus' teaching regarding sick people and persons on the margin of the society. Considering Jesus as a model figure, Sa'd highlights two aspects: on the one hand, the manner in which Jesus encountered sick people and treated them with respect and dignity, and on the other hand, how Jesus had the capability to heal. The portrayal of Jesus as the "Great Physician" who equally preached and healed was a widespread motive used by propagators of the medical mission.[647] Consequently, faithful Christians and in particular missionary doctors should understand their occupation as an "imitatio Christi".[648]

The study of the ideals and theological justification of the medical mission is crucial for the understanding of the missionaries' self-understanding in medical work. Therefore, in this subchapter, I will examine the objectives of medical mission, with a particular focus on the reflections of missionaries active in Egypt. These deliberations can be found in papers and discussions from missionary conferences. The topics discussed at these conferences are insightful in determining, for instance, whether treating patients was solely a means for evangelisation or an end goal of missionary work itself. Furthermore, I will explore the topics associated with the medical mission. Healing is not a term solely used in medical language, but is also meaningful in religious, and in certain social, contexts. Therefore medical mission also addressed topics beyond the treatment of diseases. While promoting health and hygiene, missionaries often encountered conditions, conceptions and practices, which they regarded as a nuisance or, at the very least, as problematic. Finally, and closely linked to the problem associated with social health status, the fields of activities and methods of the medical mission are studied. Thereby, the focus lies on the developments of institutionalised activities aiming to serve the missionaries' objectives and to meet the needs of the targeted groups.

Preaching the Gospel and Healing the Sick

The history of Christianity knows a long tradition of caring for the sick. Monasteries were offering medical services and religious orders established hospitals in cities since early mediaeval times. However, the Christian duty was rather seen in caring for the sick and not in healing, per se. Accordingly, the active promotion of medicine did not become part of the agenda until the mid-nineteenth century.[649] Many Protestants in this period considered medical mis-

[647] Hardiman, "Introduction," 13; and Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History,* 213.
[648] Grundmann, *Gesandt zu heilen!,* 88-90; and Grundmann, "Proclaiming the Gospel by Healing the Sick?," 124.
[649] Grundmann, "Mission and Healing in Historical Perspective," 185.

sionaries rather as auxiliary workers, supporting the clerical missionaries and caring for their health. Furthermore, throughout the nineteenth century, medical mission rather required explanation in order to gain support from missionary friends and the favour of clerics.[650]

The supporters and proponents of the medical mission argued using passages of the gospels and Acts, highlighting that for Jesus and the Apostles healing and preaching had gone hand in hand. Furthermore they quoted Christ's command to "heal the sick" over and over again. Until the 1870s, many missionaries without ~~a~~ medical training practiced the arts of healing alongside their ministry since the distinction between medical and preaching missionaries was not yet clearly established.[651] The proponents of medical mission argued theologically that Christian redemption concerned the whole person. Therefore they were convinced that Jesus "brought blessing both to soul and body, to Him the self was an undivided unity and practical help always a sacrament of spiritual grace."[652] Evangelical missionaries hence considered the body not as a mere shell for an immortal soul, but as part of the personality that was equally redeemed by Christ. Therefore medical mission was not considered as pure care for the body, but also as a spiritual service aiming to appeal to the person as a whole.[653] The missionaries, however, were aware that the target population might be interested mainly in the medical cure and less in the evangelistic message. Still, they stressed the value of the medical mission and argued that Christ, as the ideal medical missionary, had "chosen to take the risk of being considered a worker of miracles as though He realized that the importance of His healing was greater than the risk."[654]

The missionary doctor could "give sight to the blind, make the deaf hear, and the lame and paralysed walk"[655] thanks to modern medical treatments. These cures might have appeared to the target population as the "blessings of healing" that they were hearing of in the preaching of the missionaries. Nevertheless, this kind of medical mission was not undisputed within the evangelical community. In particular non-denominational and charismatic communities considered medical mission as theologically unsound since it relied on biomedical treatments and not on divine healing.[656] These communities conceptualised diseases as a consequence of sin

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[650] Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History,* 211.
[651] Hardiman, "Introduction," 15. It has to be considered that the professionaliation of medical occupations as well as the prevalence of biomedical conceptions in the healing arts were results of medical and social developments in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Toellner, "Medizin und Pharmazie," 346-8; and Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History,* 211-2.
[652] Richmond, "Work for Women in Egypt," 27.
[653] Grundmann, "Proclaiming the Gospel by Healing the Sick?," 120; and Toellner, "Medizin und Pharmazie," 346-8; and Grundmann, "Mission and Healing in Historical Perspective," 187.
[654] Richmond, "Work for Women in Egypt," 27.
[655] Hardiman, "Introduction," 26.
[656] Anderson, "The Changing Pattern of Medical Missions," 3.

and were convinced that the complete salvation and blessing of the Holy Spirit would also heal physical infirmities. Prayers addressing the healing powers of the Holy Spirit, extensive pastoral care, and the laying on of hands, were common healing practices in this context.[657] The established Protestant churches however generally refused the possibility of miraculous healing. They did not deny that Jesus and the Apostles had been able to perform such healings, but in their theological view God gave only a dispensation of time for miracles in order to reveal the Gospel.[658] In the context of Protestant missionary work in Egypt, the possibility of miraculous healing was not a widely discussed issue. Medical mission was understood predominantly in terms of promoting hygiene and as a work performed in hospitals, dispensaries, and clinics. The possibility of miraculous healings, however, was not denied. In fact, considering certain remarks in the sources, such healings were regarded as possible, but practices in order to induce them were not propagated.[659]

As the theological foundation for the medical mission became increasingly accepted and popularised in the Protestant churches, the biblical passages referred to, offered possibilities to determine several objectives for this kind of work. These objectives and purposes were often relative to the specific missionary field. Medical mission, besides aiming to be a form of "imitatio Christi", mainly endeavoured to serve four purposes: (1) A utilitarian object, aiming to preserve the health of the missionary in the field; (2) philanthropic motives, stressing the intention to help people in need; (3) a strategic motive, understanding medical mission as method to gain an audience for the evangelical message; and (4) a domestic motive, as medical mission could easily demonstrate to their supporters back home the direct benefit of missionary work for needy people.[660]

These four objectives of medical work are also mentioned by missionaries working in the Middle East.[661] A particular role was assigned to the strategic motive of the medical mission. Quoting a CMS missionary who refers to the medical mission as "the heavy artillery of the missionary army", Andrew Walls argues: "It was as heavy artillery that medical missions

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[657] Ohlemacher, "Evangelikalismus und Heiligungsbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert," 379-81. In particular in independent African churches or American Pentecostalist missions, charismatic concepts of faith-healing were and still are widespread. Already during the colonial era indigenious charismatic churches emerged and addressed problems such as sickness, poverty and social issues. While in medical mission physicians came from outside to help and heal, in charismatic movements the healing came from within the local community. The colonial authority however regarded these churches as potential for social instability and also the established missionary societies were very critical towards these Pentecostal movements. See Hardiman, "Introduction," 28-9.
[658] Hardiman, "Introduction," 26-7.
[659] Philips, "Description of some new Methods of Approach to Moslems and their Appraisement," 24; Coventry, "Home Life in Egypt," 33; and Richmond, "Work for Women in Egypt," 27-8.
[660] Marten, "The Theology and Practice of Scottish Medical Missions," 166-7; and Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History,* 212-3.
[661] Marten, *Attempting to bring the Gospel Home,* 153-6.

were used above all: in the less responsive fields, in Islamic societies, and above all in China."[662] In fact, direct evangelistic preaching to Muslims and Jewish communities in the Middle East was often not a very fruitful missionary method. Furthermore open proselytising was a potential cause of problem with the local authorities.[663] Therefore medical mission could serve as strategy to, as the missionaries often called it, "break down prejudices" in the local population, creating favourable circumstance for their preaching.[664]

However, this strategic motive did not contradict other objectives such as philanthropic care for a suffering population. The *Egypt General Mission* for instance clearly considered proselytising Muslims its main mission. However, they firmly rejected the allegation put forth by "enemies of Christian Missions" stating that while the missionaries declare their medical mission as philanthropy the "real object is in an underhand way to deceive the people, get them under our influence, and change their religion."[665] According to Georg Swan, the author of the quoted passage, medical missionaries who would in fact apply such methods, would have been a shame for the Christian mission. He subsequently argued that Christian faith and philanthropic care for sick people are closely related:

"True Christianity cannot see suffering unmoved, true Christianity must hold out the helping hand, true Christianity cares nothing for a man merely 'changing his religion.' But having so obviously received the light that casts out darkness, and all the fruits of darkness, it can no more withhold the Light of Life, the everlasting remedy, than it can withhold the medicine or other temporary remedy."[666]

Christians must feel compassion with suffering people and should develop the desire to help people in need, since such personal dispositions were expected from faithful Christians. The care for the sick was regarded as a fruit of Christian faith, but most medical missionaries would not have considered it as the sole end of their work. They considered the proclamation of the Gospel as part of their philanthropy, and conversions as even more valuable than bodily healing, since a redeemed soul could live forever.[667]

Proclaiming the Gospel could happen through either preaching or evangelistic conversations with patients. Often evangelists were in charge of the spiritual care of the patients and engaged in proselytisation. Furthermore, at an Egypt Inter-Mission Council Conference on the

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[662] Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History,* 214.The rhetoric that adopted discourses of military expansion and conquest was not unusual for the missionary movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. See Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 51-2.
[663] Bourmaud, "Public Space and Private Spheres," 134-6.
[664] Hetherington, *A Run Round the Stations*, 4-5; Richmond, "Work for Women in Egypt," 27; Channing, Kathleen. "Belbeis". Egypt General Mission News, no. 166 (March/April 1930), 34-5; and Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 29-32.
[665] Swan, *Lacked ye anything?,* 46.
[666] Swan, *Lacked ye anything?,* 46-7.
[667] Anderson, "The Changing Pattern of Medical Missions," 9.

role of the medical doctor in evangelistic work, the participants discussed to what extend the medical staff and in particular doctors should be involved in evangelistic activities.[668] Generally, medical mission was estimated as valuable means for the proclamation of the Gospel, as Jakob Enderlin's report of the Jerusalem Conference for Workers in Moslem Lands of 1924 shows:

"In mehr als einer Hinsicht hat sich der medizinische Zweig in der Muhammedaner-Mission als wertvoll erwiesen. Durch denselben konnte der Geist Gottes in dem Dienste Seiner Knechte das Bild Jesu den Kindern des Islam lebendig vor die Augen stellen als des barmherzigen Helfers und Arztes für Leib und Seele. Deshalb ist es so sehr wichtig, daß die Beziehungen zwischen Hospitalpersonal und Patienten allezeit äußerst freundlich und liebevolle seien. In Hospital und Poliklinik wird die Botschaft von Jesus Christus angehört, wenn sie anderweitig abgelehnt worden ist; hier ist die Evangeliumsverkündigung möglich vor Scharen von Muhammedanern."[669]

Medical institutions could work like magnets and attract people, who otherwise would avoid contact with Christian missionaries. Furthermore, here Muslims were likely to be more receptive to the evangelistic message than in other contexts. However, Enderlin and many other missionaries considered the evangelistic value of the medical mission not in the first place in the opportunity to preach. They rather saw the chance for the Christian staff to proclaim the Gospel by practicing what they preached.[670] Medical missionaries should be a living witness for the Christian faith, since the patient "can see practical demonstrations, moment by moment, of the sacrificial love of God in the lives of those who so unsparingly and with such gentle kindness minister to his needs."[671] In doing so, the importance of caring and harmonious inter-personal relations, in particular between medical staff and patients, was emphasised. Proclaiming the Gospel by caring for suffering people and by helping people in need in general, was considered as active love and hence as a form of imitating Christ.

Methods and Topics of medical Mission

The establishment of medical mission entailed a high commitment to this kind of work. Sending out a missionary doctor implied a commitment to provide him with equipment and drugs.

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[668] Enderlin, "Discussion led by Dr. S. J. Enderlin," 62.

[669] "The medical branch of the mission to the Mohammedans has proven to be valuable in several respects. It enabled the Holy Spirit, working through the service of His servants, to display the image of Jesus as helper and healer of body and soul to the children of Islam. Therefore it is very important that the relations between hospital employees and patients are always highly friendly and caring. The message of Jesus Christ is listened to in hospitals and clinics, even if it has been rejected otherwise; here the proclamation of the Gospel is possible to multitudes of Mohammedans." See Enderlin, *Die III. Generalkonferenz für Muhammedanermission zu Jerusalem vom 3.-7. April 1924*, 11.

[670] Marten, "The Theology and Practice of Scottish Medical Missions," 170-1; and Hardiman, "Introduction," 25-6.

[671] Naish, *Wonders in Egypt,* 12.

Furthermore, it became a commitment to send more doctors, in order to prevent the collapse of the medical mission, when the doctor was sick or on leave. The operation of a hospital was a particularly expensive missionary method, since it required an adequate infrastructure and equipment, as well as well-trained staff.[672] Still, both the Egypt General Mission and the Sudan Pionier-Mission became involved in medical mission soon after their foundation, and both societies operated a hospital that was crucial for their work. Hospitals were also operated by the two older and larger Protestant missionary societies, the British Church Missionary Society and the American Presbyterian Mission, which established their medical work in the nineteenth century.[673] The CMS hospital in Old Cairo thereby enjoyed the reputation as being the best medical institution in the Middle East.[674] The openness of Protestant missionaries to become involved in medical missions shows that the activities in the field of health were considered to be suitable to face problems in the Egyptian society and thereby to stay faithful to the missionary principles.

Missionary hospitals helped the missionaries to establish a good reputation and they were able to attract many patients from a wider region. Furthermore, these hospitals did not only offer medical care to patients, but were also centres for a variety of missionary activities. Regular evangelistic meetings were arranged and daily services were provided in the facilities of the hospital. Moreover, evangelists and Bible women visited the villages and, in particular, the former patients. For converts to Christianity, who often experienced trouble with their families, the hospital also often provided possibilities to work and created a new social environment.[675] Furthermore, missionary hospitals also served as educational institutions in particular for the formation of nursing staff. The American Mission hospital in Assiut even provided training for indigenious professional nurses whose "responsibilities and positions are practically the same as those of the foreign nurses and they are capable of them."[676]

However, medical mission compromised a variety of methods for health promotion, and usually the establishment of a missionary hospital started out on the activities. The American mission and the British CMS started their medical work with a doctor respectively in 1870 and in 1888. These physicians treated the patients in their medical ward, but they also devel-

[672] Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History,* 214-5; and Hardiman, "Introduction," 17-8.
[673] Watson, *The American Mission in Egypt,* 394; Rhodes, *The Anglican Church in Egypt 1936-1956 and its Relationship with British Imperialism*, 60 and 69; and Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt,* 74.
[674] Richter, *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient*, 249-50.
[675] Hetherington, *A Run Round the Stations,* 7-8.
[676] Brownlee, "The Training of Egyptian Nurses for Mission Hospitals,"43.

oped peripatetic work visiting the villages of the region.[677] Furthermore, female missionaries received an important role in medical mission in Egypt since, on the one hand they served as nurses in clinics, and on the other hand they were able to care for sick women and visit them at home. This work among women was regarded as important. Nurses and female missionaries were able to come in contact with persons who were usually unreached by evangelistic preaching. Furthermore, they aimed to oppose infant mortality and trachoma, a disease that was a major cause for child blindness.[678] A further common mean to provide health services was the dispensary. Dispensaries did not only provided drugs, but also outpatient treatments for minor illnesses and injuries. They were not necessarily operated by a doctor, but often also by professional nurses or missionaries with minor medical training. It was not unusual that the dispensary be combined with another kind of missionary work, be it a school, or a shop with religious tracts. Furthermore, waiting patients and their family members were often approached evangelistically and some missionaries highlighted that some people just came to hear the preaching in their articles for the missionary friends.[679]

According to the missionary reports, their medical institutions attracted many patients despite the fact that governmental and philanthropic health services steadily increased since Egypt's formal independence in 1922.[680] The population, particularly in rural areas and poor urban neighbourhood, suffered from a high infant mortality and from diseases such as malaria, dysentery, fevers (such as typhoid and malaria), hookworm infection, bilharzia and eye diseases.[681] The missionaries were well aware that these health problems could not be eliminated with their institutions which were involved in acute cure. Therefore, they also discussed strategies and methods of preventive medicine and were involved in activities aiming to advance public health. Medical mission was discussed alongside methods for social relief, during the Jerusalem Conference for Workers in Moslem Lands of 1924. Both medical mission as well as the involvement of Christian missionaries in social relief were regarded as opportunities to demonstrate Christian love, aiming to bear witness of the Christian faith to Muslims. The mis-

[677] Watson, *The American Mission in Egypt,* 300-1; and Rhodes, *The Anglican Church in Egypt 1936-1956 and its Relationship with British Imperialism*, 60.
[678] Infant mortality and diseases in the Near East according to a sociologist writing in the early 1930s, see Dodd, *Methods of Promoting Rural Health in the Near East*, 1; and Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 84 and 171.
[679] King, "Suez: Pulling down and Building up (Jer. i. 10)," 43-6; and Collinson, "Thirty-Eight Annual Report 1935," 36-40.
[680] Morsy, *Gender, Sickness, and Healing in Rural Egypt,* 23-5; and Dodd, *Methods of Promoting Rural Health in the Near East*, 4-6.
[681] Dodd, *Methods of Promoting Rural Health in the Near East*, 1; Cutting and Saad, "Teaching Preventive Medicine, especially in Relation to Egyptian Villages," 29-31; and Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 39-41.

sionaries' social work aimed to improve the health and living conditions of the people in the Middle East, as Enderlin's summary of the conference paper shows:

„Es wäre dafür zu empfehlen, organisierte private und öffentliche Gesundheitspflege, Vereine zur leiblichen Ertüchtigung, Temperenz und Sittlichkeitsarbeit unter Männern und Frauen [einzurichten], die ihr Augenmerk besonders auf die Großstädte richten sollten. Die Missionare sollten auch für Reformen auf sozialem und wirtschaftlichem Gebiete eintreten und die öffentliche Meinung beeinflussen, besonders in Bezug auf die unzweckmäßige Behandlung der Säuglinge, die Kinderheiraten, die frühe Heranziehung von Kindern zu körperlicher Arbeit, die Lebensbedingungen in den Fabriken wie Arbeitszeit, Arbeitslöhne und sanitäre Einrichtungen (…), den weißen Sklavenhandel mit Frauen und Kindern, sowie auf die Verhütung von Tierquälerei."[682]

Following Enderlin, the missionaries at the Jerusalem conference discussed social and health problems that mainly concerned the urban sphere. Two major problem areas and fields for a possible involvement were identified: firstly, issues and endeavours in matters of personal conduct of life and moral integrity were addressed, such as the promotion of physical fitness or the prevention of alcohol and drug abuse; secondly, the missionaries identified shortcomings in the prevalent living and working conditions in the Middle East. Therefore they called for improvements in labour rights and for better protection of the weaker members of the society- claims that could also have been termed by a social democratic party of this period. These demands could be addressed in the sphere of public opinion or as legal claims. However, the missionaries' involvement in such rather political claims can scarcely be found in the examined sources. Still, most of the institutions and activities were focused rather on the improvement of living and health conditions on a personal and familial level.

Alcohol and drug consumption were closely related to both problems of health and of morality. However, temperance was not a topic that was widely discussed, either in missionary conferences nor in journal articles and booklets for missionary friends. Rudimentarily, alcohol and drug consumption were mentioned, along with further moral and health problems, when discussing the living condition of male students living away from their families in the city. Students living in cheap accommodation were regarded to be in a particular moral threat,

[682] "It would be recommendable to establish an organised private and public healthcare, clubs for physical exercise, temperance and efforts for morality among men and women with particular respect to big cities. Moreover, missionaries should advocate reforms in social and economic fields and influence the public opinion. Topics to be addressed are in particular inappropriate baby care, child marriage, the early employment of children in physical work, working circumstances in factories, as for instance, working hours, employee's wages and sanitary installations (…), furthermore, the white slave trade with women and children, as well as prevention of cruelty to animals." See Enderlin, *Die III. Generalkonferenz für Muhammedanermission zu Jerusalem vom 3.-7. April 1924*, 12.

since these accommodations were closely associated with prostitution.[683] In order to face these health and moral problems, the missionaries discussed (and also established) appropriate possibilities such as student hostels under Christian supervision and with leisure activities.[684] Furthermore, and especially to promote temperance, the missionaries printed Arabic tracts and stories, warning about the danger of drugs and alcohol. Hence, temperance endeavours were apparently an inherent part of missionary work in Egypt, although they were almost unmentioned in German and English missionary sources.[685]

In conference papers, alcohol and drugs were predominantly mentioned as problems of young men in urban areas. However, Arabic tracts and stories on this topic were also written for other target groups. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was also active in Egypt and especially addressed women in its tracts and conferences.[686] The stories on the dangers of drugs were written, however, for a young audience. For instance, in a booklet, the readers are addressed with "oh boys and girls" (*ayyuhā al-awlād wa-al-banāt*).[687] Furthermore, the protagonist of one of the stories is a boy in school age. This boy struggles with cannabis addiction since his father taught him to smoke hashish, in order to forget hunger and sorrows.[688] Missionaries therefore regarded drug and alcohol addiction as a problem that might affect both women and men, young and old. It is not entirely clear, however, if the temperance movement, when addressing women were actually concerned with female drug consumption or rather with alcohol and drug abuse within the family. In a tract edited by the Woman's Temperance Union, for instance, female readers are addressed and are forcefully warned about the dangers of giving opium to infants and children in order to calm them.[689]

The missionaries' arguments for temperance are largely based on health considerations but also moral and religious reasons against drug and alcohol consumption are mentioned. In the

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[683] Tawil, "Importance of Christian Hostels for Young People," 36; Enderlin, *Die III. Generalkonferenz für Muhammedanermission zu Jerusalem vom 3.-7. April 1924*, 12; and Kelada, "The Egyptian Student Problem," 11-15.

[684] Tawil, "Importance of Christian Hostels for Young People," 35-42; and Watson and Smith, "Egyptian Student Problem," 16-27.

[685] Temperance endeavors as part of missionary work have not received wide scholarly attention yet, in particular for the missionary movement in the Middle East. On cannabis and missionaries in India see Mills, James H. "Colonialism, Cannabis and the Christians," 169-192; and on medical missionaries and Opium in China see Lodwick, *Crusaders against opium*.

[686] "Al-Usbūʿ al-qawmī li-mukāfaḥat al-muskirāt wa-al-mukhadirāt," 157; and Jamʿiyyat al-Sayyidāt al-Masīḥiyya li-manʿ al-muskirāt wa-al-mukhadirāt bi-al-quṭr al-Maṣrī, *Khuṭab wa-Qiṣaṣ wa-muḥāwarāt ʿan al-muskirāt wa-al-mukhadirāt.*

[687] Tenling, *Innahu maktūb,* 3.

[688] *Zanbaqat al-ṣaḥrāʾ,* 1-9.

[689] *ʿAsharat umūr*, 12-3. Also in the work in welfare centres the missionaries aimed to convince the mothers not to give opium to their babies. See Philips, "Description of some new Methods of Approach to Moslems and their Appraisement," 20.

stories the destructive effects of drug use are drastically portrayed, as this passage of the motioned story of the cannabis addicted boy shows:

بعد ذلك انعطف محمد نحو تدخين الحشيش وازداد في تدخينه حتى نحف جسمه الصغير ووجهه الذي كان ذابلا من الاول صار اكثر ذبولا وظهر كانه وجه شيخ انهكته الايام لان هذا هو تأثير هذه المادة المخدرة على جسم الانسان فانها تمتص قوته باكملها وتعدمه قوة الارادة وتفسد قلبه حتى وهو في عز شبابه يسقط ضعيفاً خائراً مثل شجرة تأكلت من السوس لاتصلح الا للحريق.[690]

However, besides health concerns, the missionaries tried to provide biblical evidence that not only drug consumption or alcoholism are sinful, but also that alcohol consumption in general is prohibited for Christians.[691] The arguments of the missionaries' temperance endeavours are revealing for the self-understanding in health activities. The joys experienced through drug consumption are contrasted with the devastating effects these substances might have on health, but also on the moral and religious integrity of a person. Therefore, prevention of habits that might threaten health was also regarded as dangerous for the spiritual life. Hence, the missionaries closely linked body and soul.

Precarious living conditions and poor hygienic situations were not only an urban problem, but also a severe rural problem. According to the Egyptian physician ʿAbd al-Malik Saʿd, who presented at the Egypt Inter-Mission Conference 1940 the major problem of "the fallāḥ" „is the result of three factors: poverty, ignorance and disease."[692] He thereby considered poverty and ignorance as main causes for widespread diseases the medical missionaries encountered in rural areas.

Unequal land distribution and overpopulation were repeatedly identified as reasons for poverty in rural areas. Due to these causes which were rooted in economic and political structures, many missionaries found themselves helpless to alleviate the stress of poverty substantially. Mere charity, as practiced by landowners who distributed gifts and meals at religious holidays, was regarded as an inefficient mean for combating poverty.[693] Poverty and high leases for land were closely related to the problem of malnutrition, as one missionary's analysis of the diet in Egyptian villages shows: "The chief problem is economic. In many homes they cannot afford to eat vegetables. The landlord takes half or more of all they make."[694] However and notably, the critique of the economic situation did not address any colonial fac-

[690] "Afterwards Muḥammad turned to smoking ḥashīsh. He increasingly smoked more of it, until his small body grew thin and his face that was already pale became even paler. His face and appeared like the face of an old man, ravaged by the days, since this is the effect of this drug on the human body. It fully absorbs the strength of body, destroys the strength of will and spoils his heart. Even if he is in the bloom of his youth he becomes unfairly weak like the tree that is infected by vermin and is only suitable to burn." See *Zanbaqat al-ṣaḥrāʾ*, 5.
[691] "Al-Khamr fī al-kitāb al-muqaddas," 139-44; and Jamʿiyyat al-Sayyidāt al-Masīḥiyya li-manʿ al-muskirāt wa-al-mukhadirāt bi-al-quṭr al-Maṣrī, *Khuṭab wa-Qiṣaṣ wa-muḥāwarāt ʿan al-muskirāt wa-al-mukhadirāt.*
[692] Cutting and Saad, "Teaching Preventive Medicine, especially in Relation to Egyptian Villages," 28.
[693] Bailey, "The Church and Egyptian Villages," 10.
[694] Bailey, "The Church and Egyptian Villages," 18.

tors and analyse the impact of the imperial occupation on the Egyptian economy. Colonialism however, substantially shaped Egypt's economic situation in the first half of the twentieth century.[695]

Furthermore, sanitary conditions in villages and in neglected urban areas, were regarded as a serious threat for the health of the people. In particular, the lack of fresh water and of a sewage disposal system, as well as the cramped and dark houses, were seen as hazardous. The sanitary, as well as the housing, situation was closely associated with the poverty of the people who lacked resources to improve their conditions.[696] Considering these circumstances, the evangelical doctor ʿAbd al-Malik Saʿd concludes his paper with the following demand on the missionaries:

"We should give much careful thought to the economic condition of the fallah and to the question of saving him from the poverty and hunger in which he has lived for centuries. It matters little to the fallah whether there are few or many hospitals, or whether medicine is advanced or not, if he knows how to protect his health and to obtain a bite of food to keep himself and children from starving. If we should share in saving him form the wretched condition, our charitable work of evangelism would have greater fruit and better results."[697]

Although Saʿd was attempting to advocate economic change, his remarks did not imply that missionaries' should become involved in politics in order to change the structures, and for instance, claim a better land distribution. He rather saw the missionaries' possibility in taking action on the level of the individual; mainly by providing useful knowledge to the farmers and thereby helping them to advance their living conditions. In fact, in the 1940s and 1950s, the missionaries got increasingly involved in a promotion of education that aimed to be oriented towards the needs of the rural population. The Laubach campaign promoting literacy, and the Egypt General Mission's "Farm Colony Centre", were examples for the missionaries' involvement in new forms of education.[698]

Problems of health and hygiene were not only related to structural conditions such as sanitation and housing, but were also closely associated with ignorance, and with that which the missionaries called "superstition" (see Chapter 3.2.2). In particular in rural areas, specific practices aiming to prevent or cure sicknesses were widespread, and encompassed the use of

[695] The emergence of the small landowning class in the late 19th century was closely tied to the British cotton markets and hence to British colonial interests. Chaichian, "The Effects of World Capitalist Economy on Urbanization in Egypt," 29-34; and Schulze, *Die Rebellion der ägyptischen Fallahin 1919,* 29-45.
[696] Cutting and Saad, "Teaching Preventive Medicine, especially in Relation to Egyptian Villages," 28-32.
[697] Cutting and Saad, "Teaching Preventive Medicine, especially in Relation to Egyptian Villages," 32-33.
[698] Laubach campaign see Laubach, *Twenty First General Conference of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council*; farm colony centre, see Whitehouse and Whitehouse, "The Farm Colony Bible School," 11-3; and Giesner, "Egypt Revisited," 13.

amulets and charms, pilgrimage to holy places and the performance of magic rituals. The missionaries condemned such practices as futile or even harmful.

Their accounts on ignorance and superstition however provide further insights into their self-understanding in the medical work. In educational work the missionaries criticised the teaching and curriculum of the government school in order to provide a distinct character to their work. However, in the medical mission the Egyptian government's hospital and health services did not serve as demarcation points. Public endeavours to provide health services, in particular to poorer areas, were positively evaluated. The missionaries contrasted their scientifically based medicine and health praxis with the "widespread ignorance" and their associated "superstitious" practices, in particular those performed by healers.[699] Crucial proprieties defining the self-understanding of medical mission were the Christian faith, the impartment of proper hygiene, medical knowledge and competent- as well as loving- motherhood. In contrast missionaries largely associated "superstitious" practices with ignorance, dirtiness, high infant mortality, incompetent mothers, sickness, and- to a certain degree- also with Islam.[700]

Elisabeth Herzfeld, the missionary doctor of the *Sudan-Pionier Mission*, expressed the following claim that may be considered as characteristic for the self-understanding of the missionaries and the outlined discursive context:

„Wir müssen (…) bitten, dass in jedem dieser armen Orte, (…) bei diesen Menschen voll Aberglauben und Geisterfurcht, in Krankheitsnot und Unwissenheit, Gott seine Herrlichkeit offenbart."[701]

3.2.1 The Medical Work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission

Sister Maryam was a nurse who received her formation at the Egypt General Mission hospital in Shebin el-Kanater and who later worked in the Sudan-Pionier Hospital in Aswan. In the following interview she tells about her first stay in Germany, where she participated at a missionary conference. The time she spent in Germany was not easy for her, although the people were friendly and cared for her. She did not know the language, felt foreign and not self-

[699] Cutting and Saad, "Teaching Preventive Medicine, especially in Relation to Egyptian Villages," 24-6 and 31-32; and Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien*, 6-11. On for the missionaries' self-understanding generally in missionary history, see Mikaelsson, "'Self' and 'Other' as Biblical Representations in Mission Literature," 98-9; and with special regard on the medical mission Hardiman, "Introduction," 13-5.
[700] King, "Suez: Pulling down and Building up (Jer. i. 10)," 44-6; Harwood, "These little ones… in My Name," 86-9; and Philips, "Description of some new Methods of Approach to Moslems and their Appraisement," 18-24.
[701] „We have to (…) pray that God reveals his glory in each of these poor villages, (…) where people are full of superstition and fear of ghosts, suffering from illnesses and ignorance." See Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien*, 26.

dependent. Her feelings however changed, when she stayed for a few days with Dr. Schmidt, who had been working at the hospital in Aswan for years:

سيستر مريم: أنا حسيت كأني كنت في البيت عندنا. الدكتورة 'Schmidt' كانت قريبة جدا مننا، يعني في كل مشاكلنا في كل ظروفنا كانت قريبة خالص، زى الام. وكان معاها سيستر 'Eva-Maria' كانت برضه معانا هنا في المطبخ، هي قعدت وقت طويل، كانت ماسكة المطبخ بتاع السيسترات والمستشفى. فالاتنين شعرت معاهم ان انا مش غريبة عنهم ولا هم عني، عطوني كمان (k) قالولي 'انتى تسكني فوق ووقت الاكل بتنزلي تحت، وفي أي وقت عايزة تنزلي الجنينة انزلي ومفيش' (k) وخدوني كتيربرة، فانبسطت جدا معاهم.[702]

Sister Maryam felt at home, as if she were in Aswan, although she was still in Germany and Dr. Schmidt as well as Sister Eva-Maria were both Germans. The foreign environment enabled, or at least intensified, the feeling of being at home, and this experience stood in contrast to her general feelings of being in Germany. "Feeling at home" bears a spatial notion, but as Maryam's experience shows, this "home" is not in the first place a physical place, but rather a space that is established by inter-personal relations, interactions, shared memories and emotions.[703] Sister Maryam explains her feeling with the close and even familiar ("like a mother") relations she and other employees had to Dr. Schmidt. Unlike other places during her stay in Germany, she felt fully accepted and understood when she spent time with her colleagues and friends from work. This feeling was not only promoted by the absence of any language barriers in the communication, but furthermore the sense of shared experience was crucial. Hence, due to the close relationship, and to the shared horizon of experience and communication, Sister Maryam considered Dr. Schmidt and Sister Eva-Maria as her equals. For her, the presence of these two Germans and her relationship with them was establishing a piece of home, a piece of Egypt in the midst of Germany.[704]

The hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission in Aswan was called "al-Jarmaniyya" ("the German") and may have been a piece of home for many a German missionary, just as Dr. Schmidt's place in Germany was a piece of Egypt for Sister Maryam. In fact, similar institutional structures, and certain forms of knowledge, practices and values may have been found in hospitals in Germany. Still, the hospital cannot be regarded as a German organisation. The

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[702] "*Sister Maryam*: I felt as if I were in our house at home. Doctor Schmidt was very close to us, I mean in every thing, in all our problems, in all circumstances she was close to us, like a mother. Sister Eva Maria was also spending time with us. She used to be in charge for the kitchen here [in Aswan] and stayed a long time here. She was responsible for the nurses' and the hospital's kitchen. And with both of them I felt that I was not foreign for them and neither were they for me. They also gave me (k) they told me 'you can live upstairs, and at mealtime you can come downstairs, and any time you want to go to the garden, feel free to do so and there is no' (k) and they were taking me out many times, so I enjoyed myself very much." See Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 24.01.2010 (transcript l.286).

[703] The sociology of space distinguishes between "space" and "place", whereby "space" is considered as something produced through social processes. See Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, 12-4 and 130-3.

[704] Sister Maryam also said: "لما كنت عند الدكتورة شميت أنا حسيت كاني في مصر يعنى كنت مبسوطة جدا عندها" ("When I was with Dr. Schmidt, I felt as if I were in Egypt, I mean I was very happy with at her place.") See Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 24.01.2010 (transcript l. 281).

social and economical environment, the diseases, the attitudes of the patients, the employees with their specific motivations and formations, and possibly also the objectives of the medical work itself, differed significantly from the average German hospital. Considering these different conditions, then the hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission must be regarded and studied as culturally entangled space. The fact, for instance, that the relationship between Sister Maryam and her German colleagues created an atmosphere of "being at home", while the Egyptian nurse was far away from her country, was a result of cultural entanglements.

Cultural entanglements within the medical mission of the Sudan-Pionier Mission will be studied in a micro historic approach in this chapter. Thereby modes of operation, organisational structures, and institutionalised roles are explored along with personal relationships and involved values. In order to understand the missionary medical work better, I will also consider relations to the social environment and the relevant developments of the medical system in Upper Egypt. Although the focus lies on the hospital in Aswan, its study cannot be isolated from the mission's wider medical work. The Sudan-Pionier Mission's medical mission involved visits to home and villages and the establishment of temporary clinics on the outskirts. Often the same personnel who had worked in the hospital were also involved in these medical and evangelistic activities. Furthermore, the visits to villages promoted the publicity of the "al-Jarmaniyya" in Aswan and helped to gain the trust of the local communities. While certain patients made their way to Aswan in order to be treated (the missionaries visited their village thereafter), the missionaries often paid visits in return to former hospital patients. These visits aimed to maintain a relationship with the former patients, in particular if there were still a certain risk for complications, or if the person showed interest in the evangelistic message communicated in the hospital.

Notes on the Corpus of Sources

The Suez Crisis in 1956 was not as comparable a caesura for the German Sudan-Pionier Mission as it was for the British missionary societies. The Germans were able to continue their work since their home-country was not involved in the war. Therefore, the body of written source material, and in particular of archival sources, is considerably larger than in the cases of the Egypt General Mission and *English Mission College*. These sources are stored in the archives of the Sudan-Pionier Mission's successor organisation *Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten (EMO)* in Wiesbaden.

In order to study the medical work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, booklets printed for the missionary friends – such as biographies from indigenous and German missionaries, accounts on special encounters and experiences in the missionary field and anniversary publication on the history of the mission - are crucial. Furthermore, the journals of the Sudan-Pionier Mission also provide insight into the medical work; I focused on the periodical *Der Sudan-Pionier*.[705] Archival sources such as the diary of the missionary Christine Hahn, a few handwritten reports and sermons (some in Arabic) as well as correspondence concerning the mission's administration provide information on the work, as well as on challenges and developments of missionary institutions.

Additionally, oral history interviews were conducted. Maja Meier is a Swiss nurse who started working for the Sudan-Pionier Mission in the early 1950s; Sitt Shādiya worked as nursing auxiliary in the hospital starting in 1949; and Sister Maryam was trained at the Egypt General Mission hospital in Shebin el-Kanater as a nurse and started working in the hospital in Aswan after the British missionary institutions were closed. Furthermore, Najīb ʿAzīz, who grew up in the hospital compound in Shebin el-Kanater, was also interviewed. His father worked first for the Egypt General Mission as a nursing auxiliary and later moved (in the same period as Sister Maryam) to Aswan, in order to work in the administration of the Sudan-Pionier Mission hospital. While Sister Maryam can provide insights into how it was for her to work in both missionary hospitals, Najīb ʿAzīz presents another perspective; a closely involved outsider. All interviewees are Protestant Christians. Unfortunately no former patients could be interviewed nor any Muslim employees.

Developments and Context of the Sudan-Pionier Mission's medical Mission

Medical mission was considered as suitable missionary method soon after the first station of the Sudan-Pionier Mission was established in Aswan. In 1904 the missionaries tried to establish a medical facility with a German doctor and medically experienced missionaries. The doctor held regular medical practice in the mission house, but being an agnostic, he had no missionary aspirations. Furthermore, due to his occupation as a rehabilitation physician, he was usually busy during the tourist season.[706] The actual medical mission of the Sudan-

[705] The "Sudan-Pionier" was renamed to "Der Pionier: Zeitschrift der evangelischen Mohammedaner-Mission", in 1929, after the Second World War it was published as "Evangelische Muhammedaner-Mission Wiesbaden" and after 1954 as "Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten". Furthermore, the Sudan- Pionier Mission also issued the journal "Wasserquellen" and a journal printed for children, called "Aus dem Lande der Moscheen".
[706] Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 293; and Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 25.

Pionier Mission was established when the Swiss medical doctor Willi Fröhlich and his wife Annie arrived to Aswan in 1906.[707] Unlike his German predecessor, Fröhlich felt a calling to serve as missionary and to become involved in evangelistic activities.

The missionaries of the Sudan-Pionier Mission mainly argued with strategic considerations for the establishment of a medical mission. They believed that medical care promoted the establishment of trust, and furthermore they hoped that their charity evoked the Muslims' attention for the Christian faith.[708] Therefore the Sudan-Pionier Mission's hospital fulfilled more than simply a medical purpose, as we read in the hospital regulations of 1933:

"1.) Die medizinische Arbeit in Assuan ist ein wichtiger Zweig unserer dortigen Missionsarbeit. Sie soll, mit den übrigen Zweigen Hand in Hand arbeitend, eine Darstellung der Liebe Jesu für die Patienten sein und diese so weit wie möglich unter den erneuernden Einfluss des Evangeliums bringen."[709]

The spread of Christian faith was the declared main objective of the Sudan-Pionier Mission's medical mission.[710] This kind of work was regarded as particularly suitable to „represent the love of Jesus to the patients". In their medical work, the missionaries aimed to represent the Christian faith in a twofold way. On the one hand the work itself should be signpost to the "Great Physician", for the missionaries aimed to establish an atmosphere of love and peace. Therefore, all employees should display harmonious relationships amongst each other, and in particular should treat the patients with patience, care and respect.[711] On the other hand the Christian message should be directly addressed in conversations with patients and communicated in evangelisations. These activities of evangelism were combined with medical work in the hospital, when treating diseased people in villages or while visiting former patients in their houses.

The medical work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission began with a clinic in the mission house in Aswan, and Dr. Fröhlich, together with his nursing auxiliaries visited the villages around Aswan. Furthermore, from as early as 1908 the doctor regularly provided outpatient treatment in the mission station in Darau.[712] The clinic in Aswan was extended soon with a small mud brick house, where surgeries were made and up to four in-patients could stay.[713] Although this

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[707] Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin,* 22; and Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder*, 12-3.
[708] Meinhof, *Wege zum Herzen des Muhammedaners,* 5; and Fröhlich, "Ärztliche Mission," 4.
[709] "1.) The medical work in Aswan is an important branch of our medical mission there. It should work hand in hand with the other branches and it should represent the love of Jesus to the patients in order to bring them as much as possible under the renewable influence of the Gospel." See Klinik- und Hospital Ordnung für Assuan. 04.11.1933, EMO Archives, Green Folder: Dokumente Ägypten.
[710] Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission*, 43; Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 45-6; and Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 14.
[711] Herzfeld, "Vom Bauen," 43; Faust, "Volle Arbeit," 108; and Klinik- und Hospital Ordnung für Assuan. 04.11.1933, EMO Archives, Green Folder: Dokumente Ägypten.
[712] Enderlin, "Vom Arbeitsfelde," 32-3.
[713] Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 37-8; and Fröhlich, "Vom Missionsfelde," 40-1.

building was called "Hospitalhäuschen" ("little hospital house"), the actual hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission was opened in the beginning of 1913.[714] The hospital provided room for twenty in-patients and had a sterile operating theatre.[715] Following the statistic printed in the mission's periodical *Der Sudan-Pionier*, the medical services were widely utilised by the local people. In the eight month period from October 1914 to June 1915, 8'868 out-patients were treated in the clinics, in private consultations and on village visits. The hospital recorded 87 in-patients for this period.[716]

During the hot summer months, the German and Swiss missionary personnel usually left Aswan in order to spend this time in a cooler region, as for instance in the spa hotel of the Karmel Mission located near Haifa.[717] After the outbreak of the First World War, the missionaries stayed in Palestine. Except for the Fröhlich family (who were Swiss), all other missionaries were not allowed to reenter Egypt, due to their German nationality. However, the doctor could not maintain the medical work in Aswan because he lacked trained nursing staff. [718] After his summer leave to Alexandria, the Swiss family was not able to return to Aswan, but had to leave the country in September 1915. While the stations in Darau and Edfu were closed during the war, Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn and his daughter maintained the school work for a while, and later just watched out for the missionary property.[719]

The missionaries managed to return to Upper Egypt in 1925 and they soon re-established the medical work. Two medical doctors, Alfred Kallenbach and Elisabeth Herzfeld, started working as medical missionaries for the Sudan-Pionier Mission. The missionary work grew and the medical missionaries established new clinics in Nubian villages.[720] In 1931, the hospital in Aswan was reconstructed and extended to incorporate new treatment rooms, a new pharmacy, a ward for private patients, and separate waiting areas for women and men.[721] However, when the Second World War erupted, the missionaries had to leave Egypt and return to their home countries.[722] Unlike the German branch of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, the Swiss branch stayed in touch with the indigenous missionaries in Egypt.

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[714] Fröhlich, "Vom Missionsfelde: Assuan, 31. 12. 1912," 12-3; and Schaefer, "Unsere Kaisergeburtstagsfeier und Hospitaleinweihung am 27. Januar 1913," 20-1.
[715] Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin,* 38-9.
[716] Held, "Jahresbericht der Sudan-Pionier-Mission 1915," 39.
[717] On the Karmel Mission and its spa hotel on Mount Carmel, see Boulos, *Wahrnehmung von Juden und Arabern durch die Karmelmission in Palästina 1908-1939,* 11-33.
[718] Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 69-71.
[719] Held, "Jahresbericht der Sudan-Pionier-Mission 1915," 40.
[720] Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission*, 53; and Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 21-5.
[721] Merklin, "Vom Missionsfeld," 39; Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin,* 67; and Feller, "Jahresbericht 1931," 51-2.
[722] Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission*, 35-6.

The Swiss missionaries were able to re-establish the medical work and the hospital in Aswan in 1948, when they returned to Egypt. Soon also German missionaries were allowed to reenter Egypt and among others Dr. Elisabeth Herzfeld returned to work on the mission field in Upper Egypt. [723] The medical missionaries expressed dissatisfaction about the state of the hospital, since they considered the equipment as outdated. However, there were not enough financial means for a modernisation in the early 1950s, and furthermore the premises were regarded unsuitable for reconstruction and extension.[724] Unlike the British missionaries, the Sudan-Pionier Mission was not affected by the Suez-Crisis in 1956. The Egyptian military even permanently reserved and paid for hospital beds during the period of the construction of the high dam.[725] They were able start extending the hospital with a new kitchen, as the first step in a series of renovations in 1956.[726]

As with most missionary societies, the Sudan-Pionier Mission largely depended on regular financial donations from missionary friends. Construction projects, such as a hospital extension, required additional funding. The institutional donors were mentioned in the mission's periodical; as is the case with most of the private donors, they came from Germany and Switzerland.[727] Additional income was created by the treatment of private patients, such as wealthy locals or tourists, in Aswan.[728] The fees for medical treatments were weighted with the financial capacity of the patients. The missionaries generally charged money for their services, because they believed that paid services would be more appreciated than free treatment. Furthermore, they argued that the financial burden would be too high for the mission to always provide free drugs.[729] Poorer people sometimes paid in kind, and the poorest patients were given free treatment and drugs. Generally, patients could be provided with drugs at the cost price due to the financial support of the missionary friends. [730]

The missionaries often mention the bitter poverty of the local population, in particular that of their Nubian patients. In fact, during the second half of nineteenth century, the economy of Lower Egypt developed much quicker than Upper Egypt. The villages and towns in the Delta profited from cotton cultivation and developed more due to their closeness to the big cities,

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[723] Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission*, 17 and 36-42; and Unruh, "Vom Missionsfeld," 2-7.
[724] Letter from Merklin, Hans to Unruh, Margarete, Aswan, 17.10.1952, EMO Archives, Orange Folder B I: Korrespondenz mit SENM (Blum/Merklin) 1947-1959; and Herzfeld, Elisabeth. "Die Ernte ist groß...," 4-5.
[725] Protokoll der Stationssitzung in Assuan vom 17.5.56, EMO Archives, Orange Folder B I: Korrespondenz mit SENM (Blum/Merklin) 1947-1959.
[726] Schaffner and Schaffner, "Aus der Bauzeit in Assuan," 4-5.
[727] Feller, "Jahresbericht 1931," 51-2; and Herzfeld, "Vom Bauen," 42.
[728] *Grundsätze und Regeln der Sudan Pionier-Mission*, 13.
[729] Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder*, 43-5. Fröhlich mentions that his indigenous auxiliary ʿAbduh helped him in estimating the financial status of his patients.
[730] Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 13; and Herzfeld and Küster, "Vom Missionsfeld: Januar-Berichte aus Assuan," 32-3.

the commercial and cultural centres.[731] The dam in Aswan, built in 1902, allowed a more efficient irrigation. The construction of the dam -which was extended in the 1930s - as well as a growing tourism provided local people with many possibilities to work.

However, the dam also engulfed parts of the Nubian lands. Many Nubians had to leave their villages and lost their properties. The missionaries treated many Nubian patients and also had smaller stations south of the dam (one of their stations was floated, when the dam was extended in the early 1930s). They were daily confronted with the Nubians' loss of land and showed an understanding for their sorrows.[732] They realised that the dam was not only an economic loss for the people living south of the dam, but that it was also a health hazard. The dammed water was much less pure than the flowing river, but remained the only source for drinking water in the villages and hence was a serious cause for diseases.[733] Despite their compassion for the Nubians and their awareness of poverty, the German missionaries did not analyse or criticise the economic and political structures, and not even the extension of the dam.

Despite their poverty, the Egyptian government promoted a considerable effort in improving the medical services in Upper Egypt. By the beginning of the twentieth century there was already a government hospital in Aswan, and up until 1956 more than twenty doctors were working in twenty-three clinics and in the hospital, in addition to welfare centres and as school doctors.[734] The government opened many of these medical institutions during the inter-war period and provided free treatment in their hospitals, children welfare centres and mobile eye-clinics. These endeavours for public health presented a certain competition for the medical work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, and usually when a new institution was established, the missionaries had fewer patients.[735]

However, the German missionaries did not feel contested by governmental health services, nor did they draw demarcation lines in a similar way as educational missionaries did with governmental schools. The missionaries preferred that patients sought help in a government hospital than from a traditional healer. Furthermore, despite the additional medical service, the number of patients did not drop.[736] Elisabeth Herzfeld advised patients with complicated diseases to obtain a further expert opinion at the government hospital, and Willi Fröhlich dis-

[731] Baer, "Continuity and Change in Egyptian Rural Society, 1805-1882," 243-5; and Schulze, *Die Rebellion der ägyptischen Fallahin 1919*, 24-7 and 37-9.
[732] Wolter, "Aus den Berichten vom Missionsfeld: Assuan," 45-6; Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 11; Fröhlich, *Meine Patienten in Nubien,* 2 and 18; and Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien* (2 ed), 37-8.
[733] Herzfeld, "Die Betten erzählen," 124; and Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 17-8.
[734] Abid, "Wissenswertes über die Stadt Assuan aus Geschichte und Gegenwart," 2.
[735] Götte, Marthaler, and Gauer, "Vom Missionsfeld," 93.
[736] Kallenbach, "Berichte vom Missionsfelde", 9.

cussed the work with the district's doctor when he had the chance.[737] The missionaries however also expressed criticism towards these health institutions. They believed that many patients preferred to come to the mission's hospital, even if they had to pay more, because the medical treatment was better and the employees friendlier and more respectful.[738] However, the missionaries increasingly had to improve their medical services because the governmental health offers gave rise to higher expectations among the local people.[739]

Hierarchies, Educational Relations and Organisational Functions

According to Miss Helen Brownlee, a missionary working at the American Mission Hospital in Assiut, high personal and educational standards should be expected from those young Egyptian women who were willing to learn the profession of a nurse. Besides a good general knowledge allowing them to enter the training school, a nurse was required to possess physical and emotional strength, and in particular she should have "an inborn love and desire to help those who are suffering."[740] Moreover, following Brownlee's reflections presented at the Egypt Inter-Mission Council in 1936, becoming a nurse required further qualities of patience, kindness, sympathy and unselfishness:

"There are other qualities which every nurse should have. In so far as possible we must be sure that every student realizes the necessity of cooperation and obedience. A hospital in which the doctors and nurses do not work together is an unhappy place. In some lines of work one can perhaps avoid those with whom he does not enjoy working, but in a hospital all must work together. As to obedience, a hospital is much like an army in its discipline and it must be so."[741]

Close cooperation with the other employees of the hospitals, obedience to the senior staff and in particular to the prescriptions of the doctor, were considered essential for the smooth functioning of a medical institution. The new nurse therefore had to be trained not only in her professional field, but must also become a functional member in the hospital organisation. The comparison with the highly hierarchical organised army is not arbitrary. As troops have to act coordinately and strictly follow the general's orders to be win the battle, the hierarchically and

[737] Unruh, "Jahresbericht 1936," 70; and Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 44.
[738] Fröhlich, "Ärztliche Mission," 4; and Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 057). Herzfeld also expressed critique and provided a short analysis on the problem in the health system, despite the free services. See Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 10-1.
[739] Unruh, "Liebe Missionsfreunde!," 4.
[740] Brownlee, "The Training of Egyptian Nurses for Mission Hospitals," 41.
[741] Brownlee, "The Training of Egyptian Nurses for Mission Hospitals," 41.

functionally organised hospital staff was led by the doctor's prescriptions in order to fight sickness and death.[742]

Also in the sources of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, "hierarchies", "organisational roles", "teaching" and "learning"-relations appear as curial categories in the context of the mission's medical work. In the following section, these categories, their close interrelations and dynamics, as well as their association with other categories will be explored. The structure and organisational roles of the Sudan-Pionier Mission's hospital were formed along the lines of similar institutions in Germany. In Aswan however, such a medical institution and medical work in general faced different challenges than in Europe due to differing social, political and cultural circumstances. This environment, together with the adaption and development of the employees' tasks and functions, provide insight into how cultural entanglements do reshape institutions, organisational roles and hierarchies.

The work of medical mission, and in particular of hospitals, is based on a high division of labour as well as on clearly defined functions and competences. The missionaries of the Sudan-Pionier Mission settled the organisational roles and hierarchical position of their staff working in the context of the medical mission in a formal regulation. This regulation explicitly declared that the hospital served both evangelistic as well as medical purposes, and therefore not only health related positions can be found. The declaration of the institutions' objectives and the fixation of the scope of responsibility are closely related. The defining of organisational roles and hierarchies was intended to serve the purpose of the hospital, since it facilitated procedures within the organisation.[743] Following this document, the doctor, nurses, matron, pharmacist, the head of the mission station, "indigenous" (*eingeborenen*) nursing auxiliaries and servants, and even the patients, occupied organisational roles related to the medical work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission in 1933.[744] Although the head of the mission station was formally on the highest level of this hierarchy, his tasks were either of administrative or spiritual nature while the doctor held the decision-making authority in the crucial areas of the medical mission:

[742] Brownlee conceptualised the hierarchical functions also along gender lines, since she was talking of a female nurse and of a male doctor (as it was not only usual in mission hospitals in the first half of the twentieth century). See Brownlee, "The Training of Egyptian Nurses for Mission Hospitals," 41-2.
[743] On the sociology of roles in organisations, see Abraham and Büschges, *Einführung in die Organisationssoziologie,* 159-74.
[744] Klinik- und Hospital Ordnung für Assuan. 04.11.1933, EMO Archives, Green Folder: Dokumente Ägypten.

"2.) Die verantwortliche Leitung der medizinischen Arbeit liegt in den Händen des Arztes resp. der Aerztin. In allen medizinischen Fragen, Operationen, Notfällen, Behandlung und Pflege der Patienten hat der Arzt allein zu entscheiden."[745]

The doctor not only possessed the greatest authority and competence in medical questions, but was also concerned with the management of the medical staff. She (Dr. Elisabeth Herzfeld was the head of the medical work in 1933) led the nurses, chose and examined the indigenous auxiliaries, and was required to discuss and request medical supply orders with the pharmacist. Off-duty, the nurses as well as Dr. Herzfeld were part of the "sister-family" (*Schwesternfamilie*) and the household of this "family" was led by the matron.

The performance of the tasks assigned by the doctor was regarded as the crucial job of the nurses. They had to perform these tasks punctually.[746] This stress on punctuality implies obedience to the doctor's orders as well as a disciplined mode of work. The nurses' duty to perform the tasks punctually, with discipline and in accordance to the doctor's request was justified as being in the patients' interest. Hence, the values "obedience" and "cooperation", highlighted by Helen Brownlee as being central in the training of nurses, were shared by the missionaries of the Sudan-Pionier Mission.

Certain nurses were trained to help the pharmacist, and one of them was designated to be her deputy. However, unlike in the American Hospital in Assiut, no trained Egyptian nurses worked in the medical facility of the Sudan-Pionier Mission prior to the Second World War. In Upper Egypt trained nurses were rare, while there were formally trained nurses in the north. The unwillingness of nurses from Lower Egypt to work in Upper Egypt was regarded as the main reason for the lack of well-trained indigenous medical personnel.[747] Therefore, the missionaries taught indigenous workers certain skills and knowledge required for the work of nursing auxiliaries. According to the hospital regulations, the doctor examined the suitability of potential nursing auxiliaries and, if hired, they were also directly subject to her and not to the nurses. It was the head of the station's competence to decide, however, if a new auxiliary

[745] „2.) The leadership of the medical work lies in the responsibility of the doctor. It is only the doctor's competence to decide in all medical questions, in surgeries, emergencies, treatment and nursing of the patient." Notably, "doctor" is mentioned in the female as well as in the male form in German and in the subsequent text only the male form is used, although only Elisabeth Herzfeld was working as medical doctor in 1933. Most probably the text of the hospital regulation dates back to period between 1926 and 1930, when Elisabeth Herzfeld and Alfred Kallenbach both worked as doctors for the Sudan-Pionier Mission, and the (handwritten) date of the regulation was added later. Klinik- und Hospital Ordnung für Assuan. 04.11.1933, EMO Archives, Green Folder: Dokumente Ägypten.

[746] Klinik- und Hospital Ordnung für Assuan. 04.11.1933, EMO Archives, Green Folder: Dokumente Ägypten.

[747] Gerhardt, "Etwas von unseren eingeborenen Pflegerinnen," 27.

was hired or not, and furthermore he was also in charge of "influencing them pastorally" (*die seelsorgerliche Beeinflussung*).[748]

The hospital regulation formulated hierarchies and the reach of various competences. Therefore it served in the first place as a point of orientation and as an ideal. It did not, however, determine the actual functionalities and the often manifold tasks. These tasks often did not coincide with the usual roles of nurses, doctors, and evangelists in Germany or in Switzerland. Working in Upper Egypt, the missionaries faced many troubles and challenges they were not prepared for through their education and work experience in Europe. The language problem for instance was a twofold challenge for every missionary starting the work in Egypt. On the one hand the communication with the patients and with the indigenous auxiliaries was crucial in medical work, and on the other hand fluency in Arabic was sometimes not sufficient, since many of the patients were Nubians.[749] Furthermore, from the beginning of their medical work the missionaries regularly reported an enormous workload, and regretted the lack of well trained indigenous staff.[750] During the initial years of the medical work, Dr. Fröhlich together with a nurse and three medical auxiliaries usually treated 80 to 100 patients a day. In the mid 1920s, Dr. Kallenbach mentioned in his report to have treated 2'405 patients in November 1926.[751] Maja Meier, a nurse who started her work in the 1950s, did not mention a specific number, but described the experience of the workload as follows:

> Maja Meier: (…) ja, und dänn bin i ziemlich schnell nach Assuan cho, wo mir unseri Schwösterä geha händ, unseri anderä, und dänn isch mer einfach grad ind Arbeit inägworfä wordä und dänn hät's eifach geheissä, schwimm! Und da hät mer sich nid gross überlegt was mer jetzt für Gefühl hät für diä Menschä, mä hat eifach gemacht was mä hät müässä.[752]

A further challenge for the missionaries lay in their accommodation to different mindscapes and social conventions, when they treated their Upper Egyptian patients. Patients from rural areas were usually accompanied by several members of their family who were unwilling to

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[748] Klinik- und Hospital Ordnung für Assuan. 04.11.1933, EMO Archives, Green Folder: Dokumente Ägypten.
[749] While the Nubian men usually knew Arabic, the women often only spoke Nubian. Some missionaries were trying to learn the Nubian language, but often they relied on an interpreter. See zu Hohenlohe and Götte, "Berichte vom Missionsfelde," 56; and Herzfeld and Küster, "Vom Missionsfeld: Januar-Berichte aus Assuan," 34.
[750] Unruh, "Jahresbericht 1936," 70-1; and Gerhardt, "Etwas von unseren eingeborenen Pflegerinnen," 26-7.
[751] Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin, 22-5;* Hohenlohe and Götte, "Berichte vom Missionsfelde," 55; and Kallenbach, "Berichte vom Missionsfelde", 10.
[752] "*Maja Meier*: (...) and then I arrived pretty fast in Aswan, where we had our sisters, our others, and then we were thrown into the work and then I was told to swim. And in this situation I could not make great thoughts on what I felt towards these people, one simply did what ought to be done." See Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 006). The interview was conducted in Swiss-German dialect. The idiomatic expression "schwimmen in Arbeit" is common in German and can be translated with "to be flush with work". A further passage in the interview, where Maja Meier describes the workload at the clinic, see Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 127).

leave them alone. In the beginning these relatives also provided the food for their diseased family member and usually stayed overnight. For the missionaries however, it was initially rather difficult to deal with the large number of accompanying people.[753] Furthermore, some patients did not behave as the medical missionaries expected them to behave and act. Some patients for instance were not familiar with the use of pharmaceutical drugs and applied them according to their own discretion, thereby disregarding the instruction of medical missionaries. Some took the medication, scheduled for a week, in two days and others did not swallow the pills but turned them into amulets.[754] Fröhlich also reported the following incident mentioning it as an example for the strange situations and incomprehensible behaviour that a missionary doctor often faced:

„Eines Morgens in aller Frühe hörten wir mächtiges Gepolter vor der Türe unseres Schlafzimmers. Ein vor einigen Tagen operierter Mann wollte den Arzt sprechen, weil er gern nach Hause gehen wollte. Aber er hatte es nicht für nötig befunden, außer seinem Verband sich noch mit irgendeinem Kleidungsstück zu versehen.“[755]

The patient mentioned in Fröhlich's example did not conform the Swiss doctor's expected behaviour in two respects: firstly, the patient did not distinguish between the doctor's professional and private life since he wanted to talk to him while he was off-duty and at home; secondly, the patient did not adhere to the dress code that were regarded as appropriate by Fröhlich. The Swiss doctor mentioned such incidences as curiosa and considered them as obstacle for his work. In contrast, Dr. Herzfeld increasingly acquired the ability to contextualise what might be considered as strange or irrational behaviour and she tried to provide explanations to the readers.[756]

The segregation of the sexes was a socio-cultural norm and not unique to the missionaries but was shaped differently in Upper Egypt than in Europe. The strict segregation between unrelated men and women caused difficulties for male medical missionaries and evangelists when visiting homes in order to treat or speak to women. Furthermore, the missionaries realised that a mix-gendered waiting-room caused uneasiness among the waiting persons, and hence was inappropriate for a hospital in Upper Egypt.[757] Although the concept of sex segregation ap-

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[753] zu Hohenlohe, "Vom Missionsfeld," 29-30; Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 21-3; and Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 14.

[754] Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 45.

[755] „One early morning we heard a strong rumbling in front of our bedroom door. A man who had undergone a surgery a few days ago wanted to talk to the doctor, because he wished to return home. However, he did not find it necessary to wear any clothes apart from his bandage.” See Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 17.

[756] For example, when a man came to Dr. Herzfeld and refused to stay despite the diagnosis required him to do so she explained his decision with the economic circumstance: He could not stay, since his family needed his work-force in order not to starve. See Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 11.

[757] Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 17; Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 47; and Herzfeld and Küster, "Vom Missionsfeld: Januar-Berichte aus Assuan," 34.

peared to be quite deeply rooted and widespread in society, this social norm was not handled in the same manner by each family and village. The missionaries particularly detected these differences when it came to the permission to enter homes as a male medical missionary in order to treat female family members. Furthermore, the missionaries believed that many families followed this norm less strictly in the 1920s and 1930s than before the First World War.[758] However, especially in villages the concept of strict gender segregation did not vanish and Sister Maryam, who started working in the 1950s as nurse for the Egypt General Mission and later worked for the Sudan-Pionier Mission, emphasised the importance of the work of women in an interview:

المحاور: ليه هو كان كدة مهم ؟
سيستر مريم: علشان خاطر الستات ميقدروش يتكلموا مع الا الستات، لكن متقدرش الست تكلم راجل دا دا جوزها (k) يحصل مشاكل. لكن مع الستات هم يقدروا يتكلموا ويسألوا ويعرفوا وكدة.[759]

The aim of the Sudan-Pionier Mission's medical mission consisted in serving the local population in medical as well as in spiritual respects. Therefore the German and Swiss missionaries had to overcome the various obstacles and adapt their institutional structures, procedures and organisational roles within their medical work, in order to achieve their objects. In this adaption process, the operating sequences and the working space were reshaped. Organisational roles became more dynamic, since new roles were established and further competences had to be acquired.

Margarete Unruh's description of the hospital facility provides insight into the work routine and the functions of different members of the staff, in particular those of the clinic in Aswan:

„Der Torhüter weist einem den Weg. Sein Amt ist bei dem oft sehr großen Andrang von Patienten, die sich durchaus nicht immer nach den festgesetzten Tagen und Stunden richten, sehr wichtig. Rechts liegt gleich das einfache Laboratoriumshüttchen, und dann steht man auf dem „Palmplatz", der – so unentbehrlich er für unsere Arbeit ist – leider noch immer nicht unser Eigentum ist. Ein Stückchen des Platzes ist mit Matten abgezäumt, um einen ruhigen Platz für die Poliklinikandachten zu haben. Von dort geht es in die Räume zu den poliklinischen Behandlungen, zuerst in das Zimmer, in dem abwechselnd eine der Schwestern mit dem geschickten Klinikdiener Muhammed waltet, um die kleineren Behandlungen (Augen, Ohren usw.) zu machen und, wenn es nötig ist, in die hinteren Räume, wo die Sitt Doktora die größeren Untersuchungen ausführt. Verläßt man diese Zimmer, so steht man fast vor dem Apothekenfenster und kann bei Frl. Gauer die nötigen Medizinen einhandeln und sich zum wievielten Male sagen lassen, wie man sie verwenden soll. Links liegt das Hospitalhäuschen, in dem zwei Säle und der Operationssaal zur Benutzung stehen, und geradeaus das „Tau-

[758] Kallenbach, "Berichte vom Missionsfelde," 10.
[759] "*Interviewer*: Why was it [the work of women and for women] so important? *Sister Maryam*: Because of the women, they cannot speak with anybody but with other women, but a woman could not speak to a man, or else her husband (k) trouble would happen. But the women, they were able to speak, to ask questions and hence become acquainted with them." See Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 216-217).

fiqhäuschen“, in dem so gern unsere Freundinnen aus dem Beduinenlager Unterkunft suchen.“[760]

The spatial and functional organisation of the hospital facility described, was developed in order to manage the great number of patients and the resulting workload for the medical missionaries. The first position in the work flow was occupied by the gate keeper. He had a regulatory function by allowing people to enter the hospital according to opening hours. By entering the gates of the hospital, the sick people became hospital patients, and hence received their role within the institution. Furthermore the gate keeper had to keep order among the waiting patients, and distributed queue numbers in order to prevent conflict.[761]

The palm square was considered as indispensable for two reasons. Firstly, the missionaries used it for evangelistic devotions. At certain times of the day, an evangelist or a Bible woman read stories from the Bible, thereby aiming to spiritually reach the waiting patients and their family members. The missionaries soon realised that the companions of the patients were not just an obstacle, but also formed an opportunity to reach more people with the religious message.[762]

Secondly, the palm square was the waiting area for women and children. The Sudan-Pionier Mission tried to respect the prevalent norm of sex-segregation, but not because they were convinced of this concept in its strict form. They did not want to establish any obstacles for women to come to the hospital. Therefore, they provided separate waiting areas for men and women, and after the hospital facilities were extended in the beginning of the 1930s, separate treatment rooms.[763] The missionaries hence handled such gender issues pragmatically, and preferred to adjust their facilities and strategies for reaching people to counter the risk of losing female admissions. It can be regarded as part of this pragmatism that the Sudan-Pionier Mission hired a female doctor for their work in the mid 1920s. Elisabeth Herzfeld became the

[760] “The gate keeper shows the way. His job is very important, since often there is a huge press of patients, who quite frequently do not comply with the settled days and hours. The small hut with our simple laboratory lies on the right hand, and then you stand on our ‘palm square’, which is indispensible for our work, unfortunately however, it is still not in our property yet. A piece of the square is fenced off with mats, in order to have a quite place for clinic devotions. From there one comes to the facilities for the outpatient care. First, there is a room, where alternately one of the nurses together with the skilful clinic auxiliary Muḥammad is working. They do the minor treatments (eyes, ears etc.), and then, if it is necessary, Sitt Doktora does the larger examinations in the rear rooms. Leaving this room, one stands almost in front of the window of the pharmacy, where Miss Gauer trades you the needed drugs and explains for the untold time how to use them. The hospital lodge is located on the left hand, compromising two halls and one operating theatre for the usage, and straight ahead the ‘Tawfiq-Hut’ can be found, where our friends coming from the Bedouin camp like to take up their quarters.” See Unruh, "Jahresbericht 1936," 70.

[761] Faust, "Sprechstunde in Assuan," 124; and Herzfeld and Küster, "Vom Missionsfeld: Januar-Berichte aus Assuan," 34.

[762] Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 14.

[763] Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 21-2; Merklin, "Vom Missionsfeld," 39; Faust, "Sprechstunde in Assuan," 124; and Herzfeld and Küster, "Vom Missionsfeld: Januar-Berichte aus Assuan," 34.

director of the mission hospital in Aswan, and being one of the first registered female doctors in Leipzig, she was also a pioneer in her profession.[764] Dr. Kallenbach noted that Egyptian husbands and fathers did not allow male missionaries to conduct pelvic examinations. Dr. Herzfeld however was able to do so, and she generally had easier access to the homes and families.[765]

A division of labour was also made in the medical treatment. The nurse and the indigenous auxiliary (who was Muslim) had two scopes of duties: firstly, they estimated which cases were more complex and needed to be treated by the doctor and secondly, they treated minor illnesses and injuries themselves. By doing so, they relieved Dr. Herzfeld from the workload. Moreover, they received the authorisation to make diagnosis and undertake the corresponding therapy; both of these competences were usually assigned to doctors only in the context of German hospitals.[766] Dr. Herzfeld treated the complex medical cases and decided who should stay in the hospital for further treatment or if outpatient care only was needed. Eventually, the last job in the work flow was accomplished by the pharmacist who sold the required drugs to the outgoing patients. Moreover, she had to explain the application of the respective drugs. Being experienced in doing so, she knew about frequent misunderstanding that might occur and had learned to provide explanations comprehensible within the horizon of experience of the rural peoples.[767]

The missionaries therefore tried to adapt their operating sequences in order to provide a satisfactory medical service for all patients requesting treatment, as well as to preach their religious message to all visiting people. However, it was not only the number of patients that formed the functionality and structure of the hospital, but the needs of the people were also crucial. The missionaries aimed to reach all classes of people, and hence were willing to arrange their facilities. Bedouins for instance, usually stayed in the "Tawfiq-Hut" and Dr. Herzfeld mentioned the following reason for this separate facility: „[wir] räumen ihnen ein ei-

[764] Bachhuber, *Dr. med. Elisabeth Herzfeld (1890-1966).*
[765] Kallenbach, Herzfeld, and Götte, "Bericht vom Missionsfeld," 9-10; and Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge I),* 5-7. On the role of women among German Pietists and their role in the mission, see Albrecht, "Frauen," 535-45.
[766] On the developments of the roles of nurses and doctors in the hospital context in Germany in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and the pietistic attitudes towards these developments, see Toellner, "Medizin und Pharmazie," 349-53. The former nurse Maja Meier, who worked in the 1950s in the hospital in Aswan, also told me off-record that she had competences normally doctors had. The workload however was as big, and the missionary doctor they had (who later became Maja's husband) was working so precisely and slow that the nurses had to acquire these additional skills.
[767] In previous decades an Egyptian nursing auxiliary was in charge of explaining how to apply the drugs, and as Fröhlich noted, he usually explained it three to four times. See Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 45. Also later, in the 1950s, explaining how do apply the drugs was still an important task of medical staff. See Behncke, "Werktag im Hospital," 7-8.

genes Zimmer ein, denn in den Krankensälen mit den weißen Betten fühlen sie sich nicht heimisch."[768]

The challenges and chances for the medical mission were not only manifest in the work routine and in the spatial organisation of the hospital; it impacted upon the development of competences and organisational roles. The dynamics of forming competences and organisational roles and partial roles, are often closely associated with categories of "learning" and "teaching"-relations and processes in the sources.[769]

However, there are also cases in the role formation and in the acquisition of these roles where the categories of (formal) teaching and learning only play a minor part.[770] The doctors working for the Sudan-Pionier Mission for instance, though specialists in medicine, were usually also involved in evangelistic work. They prayed with the patients before they performed surgeries, they told the patients about the Christian faith when they were doing medical rounds, and sometimes they also preached when visiting villages.[771] Hence medical doctors adopted a further role as evangelist which matched their self-identification as medical *missionaries*. Furthermore, according to a paper of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, it was a strategic consideration of Protestant missionary doctors to talk with patients about their faith in the hope that their authority as physicians would promote an openness to the religious message.[772] Dr. Fröhlich as well as Dr. Herzfeld acquired an additional role as teacher. They imparted medical knowledge and skills to the nursing auxiliaries as well as to the nurses coming from Germany and Switzerland.[773] Indigenous missionary workers, usually referred to as servants or auxiliaries, exercised crucial functions in the missionary work. Their religious affiliation to Islam usually did not form an obstacle for their contributions to the missionary endeavours. For instance they had essential roles as linguistic and cultural interpreters. Since many of the indig-

[768] „[we] granted them an own room, since they did not feel at home in the wards with the white beds." See Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge I),* 13.
[769] On individual agency, organisational roles and the compatibility of partial roles from a organisational behaviour perspective, see Abraham and Büschges, *Einführung in die Organisationssoziologie,* 181-7.
[770] According to Abraham and Büschges organisational roles are often segmented along certain tasks. Therefore organisational roles can encompass several partial roles. Abraham and Büschges illustrate this segmentation of organisational roles by the example of an university professor, who has (not seldom conflicting) roles as teacher, researcher, and manager of the institute. See Abraham and Büschges, *Einführung in die Organisationssoziologie,* 168-71. Since the concept of "organisational partial roles" seems not to be established in Anglophone publications on organisational behaviour, I will generally just refer to "organisational roles", however implying that these roles are usually segmented. Therefore, the "creation of new roles" will be used as equivalent with "the creation of new partial roles".
[771] Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 45-6; Herzfeld and Küster, "Vom Missionsfeld: Januar-Berichte aus Assuan," 35; Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 11-2; and Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 101).
[772] Saad, "The Egyptian Christian Doctor and Possibilities for Evangelism," 35.
[773] Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 10-5; and Götte, Marthaler, and Gauer, "Vom Missionsfeld," 95.

enous workers were Nubian, they knew both Arabic and Nubian. Dr. Fröhlich's wife, after having justified the need for a servant (she emphasised that this was not a luxury, but a necessity in the Upper Egyptian circumstances), reflects the spiritual implications of serving, thereby highlighting the indispensible importance of an indigenous servant:

"Es ist ja ein fremdes Volk, unter dem wir stehen, mit fremder Sprache, fremder Sitte und fremder Religion, und wie es meist in der Welt ist, steht man einem Fremden mit wenig Vertrauen, oft gar mit Mißtrauen gegenüber. (…) Sie [die eingeborenen Diener] leisten uns unschätzbaren Dienste, indem sie uns ihrem Volk in seinem Fühlen und Denken nahe bringen und verständlich machen und wiederum bei ihren Leuten ein gut Stück des Mißtrauens beseitigen helfen."[774]

The indigenous servant of the family Fröhlich was not only responsible for helping in the household and for taking care of the child but also for familiarising the missionaries with the customs, mindscapes, religion and values of the people they were living with. Furthermore, he fulfilled the role as intermediary between missionaries and the local, often wary communities, since the relation with the Swiss family established a familiarity with the missionaries' customs and mindset.[775]

Thus missionaries and indigenous workers received new partial roles within the context of the medical mission. Indigenous workers obtained these additional roles because they possessed specific competences and knowledge required for the work in the Upper Egyptian context. In the case of the missionaries, they started exercising certain functions that were not related to their professional role, but determined by the mission's work and objects.

There was a further mode: the development of new organisational roles within the medical mission. To a certain degree the hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission performed a shelter function for people, usually converts to Christianity, who were not integrated in their communities anymore. Some converts staying with the missionaries started to develop and establish their own role(s) within the medical mission. Taufīq for instance, a Syrian convert who had suffered prosecution by his family and therefore had fled to Egypt, received the opportunity to work in the Sudan-Pionier Mission's hospital as cleaner.[776] However, he soon showed aspira-

[774] „It is indeed a foreign people we are subject to, they speak a foreign language, have foreign manners and a foreign religion. And, as in most parts of the world, a foreigner enjoys little faith or is even mistrusted. (…) They [the native servants] provide us an invaluable service, by giving us an understanding of the feeling and the thinking of their people, and in turn also help to remove quite a bit of their people's mistrust." See Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 34.

[775] The importance of indigenous workers and their role in building up trust is mentioned also in other sources and will be discussed in the next section on "The Spirit of Serving, Personal Relations and Trust". Further passages on this role of indigenous workers, see Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 11; and zu Hohenlohe and Götte, "Berichte vom Missionsfelde," 55.

[776] Tawfīq is mentioned in two booklets as well as in articles of the Sudan-Pionier Mission (see Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 49-64; Enderlin, *Taufīq, der rollende Stein;* and Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 12-3). Furthermore, he was mentioned in a list of converts baptised in the Anglican

tion to get involved in nursing and without being asked or introduced, he started treating patients. Dr. Fröhlich praised the energy of the young convert but was afraid he could harm patients. Therefore he started teaching him medical knowledge and required skills. Tawfīq also accompanied evangelistic campaigns and read many of the missionary tracts himself. Without being asked by the missionary, he started leading evangelistic talks in the hospital in his peculiar way that differed from how the missionaries usually led such conversations.[777] Tawfīq, characterised as a very vigorous person, thereby influenced his organisational functions within the medical mission. Fröhlich emphasised however that he often had to set him limits, particularly when the young convert exceeded his medical competences. Therefore Tawfīq had not only to acquire the competences that were necessary for his organisational roles, but he also had to be coached into a specific role behaviour that limited the range of possible actions.[778]

Zaynab, a very poor Bisharin girl who came to the hospital as patient, also developed her own organisational role within this institution. Due to her disease, Zaynab had to return regularly to the hospital and had always been a very attentive listener during the evangelistic devotions. When the missionary found a place for her to permanently stay at the hospital, what they considered as necessary due to her health condition, she became involved in the work herself:

"Aber Zeinab war nicht nur unsere Patientin, sie war auch unsere stille wertvolle Hilfe und ein guter Geist im Frauensaal. Da ging sie von Bett zu Bett, tröstete und ermunterte, brachte hier einer Frau frisches Trinkwasser und gab dort einer ängstlichen Neuangekommenen Auskunft auf ihre hunderterlei bangen Fragen und Befürchtungen. Wie oft traf ich sie auch, daß sie mit einer Frau auf dem Bett saß und mit ihr vom Heiland redete."[779]

Without being asked or instructed by the missionaries, Zaynab established her own role in the hospital and supported the missionary work by listening and comforting the female patients as well as adopting evangelistic functions. Notably, the missionaries did not actively teach her how to exercise these functions - she acquired the necessary skills by herself.

Church in Cairo, which had no formal ties to the Sudan-Pionier Mission. On this list he is mentioned with his Muslim name (Muṣṭafā) and with his new Christian name (Tawfīq). Furthermore they noted: "Last heard of in German Mission, Assiut" (see Baptism of Converts since 1882 in the Arabic Anglican Church (C.M.S.). n.d. [1932], AEDE, Bundle 112 (red), File: Converts). Hence Tawfīq was not a fictional character, invented by the missionary. The historicity of the accounts told by the missionaries however cannot be verified by other sources.

[777] Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 57-60.

[778] Structural restrictions, norms and the reduction of a person's range of actions are characteristic for the definition of organisational roles in organisational behaviour. See Abraham and Büschges, *Einführung in die Organisationssoziologie,* 160-1.

[779] „Zaynab however was not only our patient, she was also our quiet, valuable help and a good spirit in the women's ward. She went from bed to bed, she comforted and encouraged. Here she brought fresh potable water and there she provided information to a fearful newcomer, who had hundreds of anxious questions and concerns. How often did I also meet her, sitting at a woman's bed and talking to her about the Redeemer." See Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 74.

Frequently however, active learning and teaching was involved in the establishment of new roles and in the acquisition of competences. As discussed in the chapter on the missionaries' educational work in schools, the categories of "teaching" and "learning" entail various subcategories characterising educational processes. Not only missionary schools but missionary institutions in general, as for instance the hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, can be considered educational spaces. Processes of "teaching" and "learning" are crucial for the *habitus* formation. In this passage however, educational categories associated with the formation of organisational roles and competences as well as with organisational hierarchies will be explored.

While doctors acquired an additional role as evangelists, the evangelists were taught nursing skills in order to work as nursing auxiliaries and help the doctor. Jakob Enderlin as well as Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn and Rizq Efendi learned skills such as pulling out teeth, giving injections and preparing drugs.[780] In particular in the initial stage of the medical mission, preachers also worked as nursing auxiliaries since the doctor urgently needed helpers. The indigenous servants, though mainly hired for jobs such as cooking, helping in the household and sometimes interpreting, also were educated in medical knowledge and skills when they had free time.[781] While Fröhlich did 0not mention female nursing auxiliaries among his trainees, Dr. Elisabeth Herzfeld and some nurses taught basics of nursing care as well as domestic science (applying for the hospital and home) to young women working in the hospital.[782]

Direct schooling and practical experience at work were relevant for the teaching and learning of medical knowledge and skills. Dr. Fröhlich and Dr. Herzfeld taught basics in anatomy and physiology as well as nursing skills in a course-like setting:

"Also diese vier [einheimischen Mitarbeiter] hatten regelmäßig jeden Mittwochnachmittag ihren Unterricht in elementarer Anatomie und Physiologie (…), zweitens in Krankenpflege, drittens in Zubereiten und Abräumen des Operationsgebietes und der dazu gehörenden Instrumente."[783]

Both doctors were concerned that their "students" not only learned to practice certain nursing actions mechanically; they were also expected to understand what they were doing and why they were doing it. Therefore Dr. Herzfeld bought an animal heart from the butcher in order to

[780] Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin,* 23-4; and Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 12.
[781] Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 11; and Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 13.
[782] Gerhardt, "Etwas von unseren eingeborenen Pflegerinnen," 26-7; Herzfeld, Boulis, and Gerhardt, "Aus Briefen unserer Assuaner Geschwister," 6-7; and Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 072-074).
[783] „These four [indigenous workers] had their class in elementary anatomy and physiology regularly on every Wednesday afternoon, secondly in nursing, thirdly in preparing and clearing the operating theatre and the appertaining instruments." See Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 13.

show what it looked like. Dr. Fröhlich let his "students" see microbes in a microscope, thereby highlighting the importance of hygiene.[784] The Swiss physician appreciated Rizq Efendi, one of his first students, since he was curious and always wished to know the reason and purpose behind the treatments he was learning.[785] Hence, the sub-categories of "teaching by explaining", "teaching by showing" and "learning by understanding" are important for the description of educational processes concerning the medical mission as well as missionary schools.

The teaching position in education was not necessarily reserved for the European missionaries since they were well aware that they had to learn the languages, manners, customs and ways of thinking of the indigenous societies. Although the missionaries highlighted that they had to learn from the indigenous people, they were still predominantly in the teaching position.[786] This teaching attitude can be attributed to the conception common in the Protestant mission which considered the training of indigenous personnel as a crucial goal.[787] Dr. Fröhlich for instance, incorporated the role as teacher so deeply into his work that he not only taught medical skills to indigenous workers, but also felt obligated to teach them Bible knowledge and introduce them to the "spirit of real Christian missionary work."[788] Notably one of his students was Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn, who was educated in a school in Switzerland and later trained in a Bible college in England. He enjoyed a specialised theological training and had a superior Biblical knowledge in comparison to Fröhlich.[789]

Also, Egyptian interviewees, who had worked or lived in a missionary hospital, emphasised how much they had been able to learn from the European missionaries, be it in a functional or human respect.[790] However, they equally highlighted that experienced and well trained indig-

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[784] Götte, Marthaler, and Gauer, "Vom Missionsfeld," 94; Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 57-8; and Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 13.

[785] Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 12.

[786] Missionaries in the learning position, see Herzfeld and Küster, "Vom Missionsfeld: Januar-Berichte aus Assuan," 34-5; Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 12; and Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 182-185).

[787]Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 10. On the training of indigenous medical personnel by Protestant missionaries in the South African context, see Egli and Krayer, "The Training of African Nurses by Missionary Nurses of the Swiss Mission in South Africa," 31-8.

[788] In the German original:"(…) um Seelen für Jesu zu gewinnen. See " Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 12.

[789] Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn was studying at the Cliff College, where he learned English, Greek and Latin as part of his Biblical studies. Furthermore, he was involved in evangelism in Britain, later also in Beirut, where he received a medical education by the American mission. See Hussein, *Aus meinem Leben,* 24-56. Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn's position within the Sudan-Pionier Mission and his competences as missionary were debated within the German mission board. While some members and leading figures of the missionary society regarded him as valuable missionary and equal person, others wanted to give him an auxiliary position only. See Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 273-82.

[790] Najīb ʿAzīz, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 05.08.2009 (transcript l. 009 and 034); Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 24.01.2010 (transcript l. 051-053 and 079-080); and Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 072-083 and 093-095).

enous missionaries were also very influential in the development of their competences and values.[791] Furthermore, German and Swiss missionaries were not always as sovereign as they wished or claimed to be since they apparently sometimes appeared naïve, as the Egyptian nurse Sister Maryam, who worked fort he Egypt General Mission as well as for the Sudan-Pionier Mission, stated:

سيستر مريم: آه الأنجليز يعني كدة 'straight'، الألمان غلبانين يعني، أى واحد يكلمهم كلمة بيصدقوها، لكن ده الى كان صعب يعني. (...)

المحاور: دا كان صعب في الأول ولا ايه؟

سيستر مريم: يعني بعد كدة يعني لما قعدنا في وسطهم، كنت أنا والست بهجة وعم عزيز، وجت دكاترة مصرين وابتدوا يشتغلوا، أخدوا بالهم وكانوا كويسين.[792]

The German missionaries were not familiar with all social norms and conceptions, and therefore could easily be deceived. Hence, the indigenous missionary workers regarded it as one of their functions within the medical mission, to look after their German colleagues in certain matters and provide them with insights.

While Fröhlich, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, was convinced of the importance of the missionary's teaching role, this self-perception slowly transformed in the following decades. Georg Meier, another Swiss doctor working for the Sudan-Pionier Mission in the early 1950s, emphasised that missionaries should regarde the indigenous society to be in a teaching and giving position as his wife Maja, who worked as a nurse in Aswan, remembers:

Maja Meier: (…) aso das es eifach wichtig isch, das me nid als die chunt wo alles besser wüsset und wo öpis bringe wänd, sondern das me, das si s Gfüühl händ mir chömet zu ine um vo ine öpis überzcho.

Interviewer: Was, was händ Si denn übercho vo däne Lüt?

Maja Meier: Ja, mängisch äbe nid vil. Aber das me de Lüt z Gfühl gä het, si gän eim öpis. Also, dass isch meh biminem Ma gsi, gäll. Er het natürlich mit dene Manne ganz anders gred, gäll. Das isch sinesgliche gsi, die sind studiert gsi.[793]

However, not all the missionaries easily adopted this attitude. Even Maja Meier herself, though she held her husband's approach in high esteem, felt called by God to serve and help the people in Upper Egypt through her role as a nurse, and not primarily to teach or to

[791] Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 24.01.2010 (transcript l. 051-053 and 079-080); and Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 057-068).

[792] *Sister Maryam:* Yes, the British were, I mean, strait, while the Germans were simple, anybody could tell them something and they believed them. So this made it difficult. (…) *Interviewer*: Was this difficult in the beginning, or what? *Sister Maryam*: Well, over time, when we stayed with them, I was there, and Sitt Bahja and Mr. ʿAzīz, and later Egyptian doctors started working, they were taking care and everything went fine." See Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 24.01.2010 (transcript l. 246 and 250-251).

[793] "*Maja Meier*: (...) so it is important not to come as those who know everything better and who want to bring something, but to give them the feeling that we came to receive something from them. *Interviewer*: What, what did you receive from these people? *Maja Meier*: Well, sometimes not a lot. However, it is about giving the people the impression, they would give us something. But, this was rather with my husband; you know he talked completely differently to these men. They were his kind, they were well educated." See Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 109-111).

learn.[794] Maja also saw the indigenous women's lack of education as a reason for not being able to learn much from them, whereas her husband, dealing with educated men, was able to converse on an equal level.

Openness to learning from others is therefore a matter of personal disposition and opportunities, as the example of the Swiss couple shows. Mrs. Meier's attitude of being in Egypt in order to work, not to learn, indicates the conceptualisation of the missionary hospital in Aswan: It was a charitable institution with a religious mission. The missionaries aimed on the one hand to spread the evangelical Christian faith, and on the other hand to provide certain types of services regarded as helpful and lacking in the indigenous society. Missionaries thus considered themselves to be bringing and teaching, and were regarded as doing this by others, including the Egyptians themselves, whereas the Egyptians were seen as receiving.

Still, as the missionary sources as well as the interviews reveal, it would be an oversimplification to suppose that teaching was reserved for Europeans alone. Roles in the hospital and in the medical mission were primarily defined by their functions and purposes. Consequently, every organisational role could be occupied by any person who acquired and mastered the required skills and requisite knowledge. It was due to competence and not to a certain origin (or gender), that a person would considered able to fulfil an institutional function and occupy a position in the hierarchy. Therefore, an Egyptian nurse, after being formally trained, was regarded to be as capable as her European colleague for the job. A female doctor could become the director of the hospital, a typically male job in Europe in the 1930s. A Muslim nursing auxiliary was allowed to conduct treatments independently and decided whether the patient needed further diagnosis by the doctor, after having been trained in the required skills.[795]

Within the organisational setting of missionary institutions, power relations were crucial in forming the dispositions and self-perception relevant to a teaching or learning position. A certain organisational position within an institutional hierarchy is not only associated with a range of agency and competence, but provides the right to instruct, observe, and correct.[796] Therefore, people in higher ranks developed a learning attitude to a lesser extent than those in lower ranks, since it was presumed that they already knew what was right. In this context Fröhlich's firm self-identification of being in the teaching position (apart from the indigenous languages, traditions and local religions, but still for the Bible studies, despite Samuel ʿAlī

[794] Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 75, 111 and 121).

[795] Brownlee, "The Training of Egyptian Nurses for Mission Hospitals," 43; Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 10-1; and Unruh, "Jahresbericht 1936," 70.

[796] In the hospital regulations of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, the skills and duties of the different institutional roles are explicitly defined. See Klinik- und Hospital Ordnung für Assuan. 04.11.1933, EMO Archives, Green Folder: Dokumente Ägypten.

Ḥusayn's higher qualification in theology), can be understood in relation to his high hierarchical position as a doctor. This position, together with the indispensability of his medical skills for the medical mission, allowed him to claim a higher authority in his additional roles as evangelist and teacher. Hence, in an organisational setting, hierarchy and authority were not so much independent sources of power as rather functions within a microphysics of power. Within these power relations, the hierarchical positions as well as related modes of conduct were shaped, including the teaching- and learning positions and attitudes.[797]

The "Spirit of Serving", personal Relations and Trust

Recalling the essentials of what she had learned in her education and during her initial working period at the Egypt General Mission hospital in Shebin el-Kanater, Sister Maryam stated:

المحاور: ايه كانت اهم حاجة اتعلمتيها في المستشفى EGM؟
سيستر مريم: يعني روح الخدمة. يعني الخدمة مش بس اعطي حقنة للعيان واجري ولا اديله الدواء وامشي لأ، يعني اتعلمنا ازاي نقعد مع العيان، نتكلم معاه ونفهمه هتاخد الدواء ده هايعملك ايه ولو ما أخدتهوش هايعملك ايه، لما تأخد الحقنة تبقي ايه، لما ماتاخدش تبقي ايه، كدة يعني. نقعد نتكلم مع العيان، العيان عايز حد يتكلم معاه، مش بس نرمي ونجري، نرمي ونجري لأ، مش كدة، احنا اتعلمنا ده. يعني كانوا يقولوا، اقعدوا مع العيان، هو محتاج حد يقعد معاه، محتاج حد يتكلم معاه، اكتر من ان تديله الدواء، طب ما اي حد ممكن يديله الدواء لكن في فرق لما انتي تيديهوله وانتي مبتسمة وتعرفيه ان هو ده اللي هيبقي حلو بعد كدة كويسة. ممكن يرجع بيته تاني وممكن يرجع شغله تاني فكان عندهم روح، روح الخدمة طويل عندهم، كان محبة وسلام وفرح، يعني مانكلمش العيان واحنا تعبانين، هو مالوش ذنب يعني.[798]

Sister Maryam emphasised the "spirit of serving" (*rūḥ al-khidma*) as crucial learning experience, a spirit she had also experienced in the hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, where she later worked.[799] Following her statement, this "spirit of serving" was a certain attitude of the employees towards their work and to their relations with the patients. It was a crucial part of the normative self-understanding of medical missionaries and related to positively connoted values such as "love, peace and joy" (*maḥabba wa-salām wa-faraḥ*). Furthermore, the "spirit

[797] Foucault, "Vorlesung zur Analyse der Macht–Mechanismen 1978," 1-44; and Foucault, *Überwachen und Strafen*, 173-250; on hierarchy and power in organisational behaviour see Abraham and Büschges, *Einführung in die Organisationssoziologie,* 126-148.
[798] "*Interviewer*: What was the most important thing you learned in the EGM hospital? *Sister Maryam*: Well, the spirit of serving. Serving means not just giving injections to the patient and then run away or delivering him medicine and go away. No, we learned how to spend time with the patient, how to speak to him and explain him, what the effects of the medicine are, and what happened, if he would not take it, what the effects of the injection are, and what would happen if he would not take it, I mean we had learned things like that. We spent time talking with the patient, the patient wants somebody, who talks to him and not just drops the drugs and runs away, no, dropping and running that's wrong, this is what we had learned. Hence they used to say, sit with the patient, he needs somebody who spends time with him, he needs somebody who talks to him, even more than giving medicine, since anybody can deliver him the drugs, but there is a difference, if you deliver it when you are smiling, when you deliver it by making him understand that this is what he needs and what will make him well, so he can return to his house, he can return to his work. So they had a spirit, I mean their spirit of serving was extensive. There was love, peace and joy, I mean we should not talk to the patient in a stressed manner, it is not his fault." See Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 079-080).
[799] Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 163).

of serving" ought to be manifested in the relations between employees and patients. Sister Maryam learned that making time for the individual patient, communicating with him/her and explaining the treatment, were crucial in the medical work. Hence, working with a "spirit of serving" did not allow for the establishment of an impersonal relation between medical professional and patient that was solely concerned with the medical treatment ("just giving injections to the patient and then run away"). Personal relation and the establishment of trust were fundamental for this working attitude.

Both the "spirit of serving" and "trust" are related, though in different manners, to the broader concept of "personal relations", and all three categories are crucial in the context of medical mission. As the passage from the interview with Sister Maryam shows, the "spirit of serving" is closely associated to the establishment of personal relations between employees and patients. It furthermore provides insight into the personal conviction towards the work and it is crucially related to the distinction between different forms of motivation. The "spirit of serving" was said to be experienced within relations between patients and employees as well as become manifest in qualities of the relations between the employees. Therefore the category "personal relations", which is closely related to certain values and forms of behaviour, is relevant in different contexts of the medical mission. In order to establish relations, and in particular personal relations, with the people from the indigenous societies, "trust" was fundamental and it was a category particularly often mentioned in sources on the medical mission. Hence, the role of "trust" and processes of building trust or even establishing familiarity needs to be studied specifically in the medical mission and the associated evangelistic work.

Missionaries generally regarded their work not as an ordinary job, but as a divine call to service. Margret Smith (see Chapter 2.2.2) contextualised her work as missionary teacher for the Egypt General Mission within the framework of her conversion and a divine plan for life as commited Christian. Similarly, missionaries of the Sudan-Pionier Mission felt a calling to work in their position in Upper Egypt.[800] Maja Meier also addressed her conviction that God called her to work in Egypt, when she answered the first interview question, although the question concerned her first impressions after her arrival:

Interviewer: Frau Meier, sie sind im 52gi nach Ägyptä cho, nach Assuan cho, was sind ihri erstä Idrück gsi, wo se detä acho sind?

Maja Meier: Ja i ha eigentlich nöd viel, viel erwartät vorher, eigentlich han i s'Verlangä gha nach Schwarzafrika, und han's gar nid verstoh, dass Gott mich nach Ägyptä gerüäft hät,

[800] Juwakim, *Rafla Juwakim Efendi, ein Evangelist in Ägypten,* 2-12; and Unruh, *Samuel Jakob Enderlin,* 11-3. Being called by God plays also a crucial role in other Protestant missionary societies involved in medical mission, see for instance Egli and Krayer, "The Training of African Nurses by Missionary Nurses of the Swiss Mission in South Africa," 40-4.

> das isch also eso gsi, und diä Menschen sind mir irgendwiä fremd gsi, ich het lieber Schwarzi gah, diä wäret eifacher gsi.[801]

According to her own view, Maja Meier did not follow her own plans and desires when she went to Egypt, but it was God who called her to serve there. Having a romantic picture of sub-Saharan Africa, she would have preferred to serve among "black people", believing she would experience them as less foreign than the people in Aswan. Notably, she does not count the numerous Nubian patients in her medical work in Aswan as "blacks". Therefore the mentioned "black people" rather refers to an exoticised picture of sub-Saharan Africans than to a skin colour. Going to Egypt to serve as a missionary was an act of obedience for Maja Meier. It was neither a matter of self-fulfilment nor primarily motivated by philanthropic ideals.[802]

The conviction of being called for serving in the mission was common among the missionaries coming from Europe. They might also have expected a similar religious conviction from their indigenous workers, at least from those who were mainly involved in evangelistic work.[803] However, they were well aware that their servants, nursing auxiliaries and even teachers, mostly did not share the same awareness of being called by God to serve in the mission, but rather needed a job to earn their living. The intention to work in the mission in order to receive money was not regarded as problematic. Missionaries were received a salary also. They knew that, for instance, the young nursing auxiliaries had to earn money in order to support their families.[804]

However, if earning money was the major, or even the only, motivation, there was no room for the "spirit of serving". The missionaries generally believed that their nursing auxiliaries regarded their occupation as mere work and not as service, particularly in the initial phase of their employment. In order to change this attitude, the missionaries aimed to impart to their (often quite young) employees that working in a missionary hospital meant both, serving pa-

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[801] "*Interviewer*: Mrs Meier, you arrived to Egypt, to Aswan, in 1952, what were your first impressions, when you arrived there? *Maja Meier*: Well, I actually did not, did not expect much previously. In fact, I used to have the desire to go to sub-Saharan Africa and I simply could not understand that God has called me to Egypt, that is how it was, and these people were somehow alien to me, I would have preferred blacks, they would have been easier." See Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 001-002).

[802] Later in the interview she tried to characterise this call and related it closely to the personal relations "one" (meaning a Christian) has with God. See Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 112-113).

[803] In the biographies of Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn and Rafla Efendi a similar awareness towards the mission work can be found as in biographies of European missionaries. Indigenous Bible women are usually also described as committed Christians, but a less rigid norm was applied and certain improper behaviour accepted (for instance one Bible woman was a heavy smoker, as many women in Upper Egypt). See Götte, *Lebensbilder zweier ägyptischer Frauen,* 17-28; and Peter, "Lernt unsere jungen Helferinnen besser kennen!," 6.

[804] Often the young women's fathers had already died or were disabled and therefore they had to earn money in order to contribute to the survival of the family. See Peter, "Lernt unsere jungen Helferinnen besser kennen!," 4-5.

tients and God. Continuously, from the initial phase of the medical work until in the 1950s, there were daily morning devotions for the entire staff and regular Bible studies, sometimes particularly designed for the nursery auxiliaries.[805] Since female auxiliaries were often from Christian families, these religious practices and lessons aimed to raise their awareness, what a committed Christian life meant, as this excerpt of a handwritten sermon shows:

"Jesus shows to his disciples the secret of in(?) spreading (توزيع) the world of nations with his word in qualities of the Salt (sic).
1. Salt savours the food (طعام). Salt does not keep its flavour for itself but gives to the food an enjoyable (زوقا حسنا) taste. So we are not to keep our gifts for ourselves like a capsule (غلاف) but we have to make our endeavour (جهدنا) that may become the common (شائعا) possession of all. The presence of a true Christian may already be a silent protest (حجة صامته على) against the worldly life of the whole environment (وسط). Think of so many a (sic) Pioneer – as (?) of olden times + think of more modern types as Hudson Taylor, Sadhu Sundar Singh, Mathilde (sic) Wrede, only to mention some names of a crowd (…)."[806]

The audience of this sermon (who might have been indigenous missionaries involved in the medical mission) were encouraged to follow Jesus' call and practice their destiny as "salt of the world" by living an active Christian life. This kind of living is distinct from "worldly" life. It ought to make an impact in the society by spreading the Christian faith and by devoutly serving people in need. Therefore, famous missionaries were mentioned as role models.[807] The German and Swiss missionaries related the "spirit of serving" closely to a specific Christian attitude work, since they were convinced to be following a divine call. They believed being working in God's service in order to make an impact on the world. Furthermore, the "spirit of serving" was a formative element of the missionaries' self-understanding, for through service they felt distinct from the "worldly life of the whole environment". For the former nurse, Maja Meier, this "environment" also includes the Muslim societies for she believed that the "spirit of serving", and related values, were barely known to Muslims but that they sought these values from the Christians.[808]

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[805] Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 031-033); Peter, "Lernt unsere jungen Helferinnen besser kennen!," 5-6; Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 12; and Gerhardt, "Etwas von unseren eingeborenen Pflegerinnen," 26-7. The (often Muslim) servants were initially also included in the Bible studies, but later it is only noted that the missionaries invited them for evangelistic gatherings and for special festivities such as Christmas. See Kellerhals, "Jahresbericht 1938", 71.

[806] Sermon on Matth. 5, 13. n.d. [1935], EMO Archives, Locker III, Flie C (Heimgang 1. Mai 1956), p. 2-3. The author of the sermon is anonymous, and although the text is written in English the author identifies him/herself as German. The Arabic words in brackets are written as translation above the related English words. Hence, the sermon was most probably given in Arabic and English. Following the main topic (being called as Christian to act as "salt" in the non-Christian world) the audience was most probably involved in missionary work, but still requiring a greater awareness and knowledge concerning the meaning of Christian service.

[807] The importance of missionaries and in particular missionary women as role models, see Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home," 59-66.

[808] Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 069).

The call of God emphasised by the missionaries was crucial for the European missionaries' attitude towards their work. On the one hand, this call enabled them to find a higher meaning for their life and work, and on the other it was essential for their motivation.[809] The circumstances for the work in Upper Egypt were unusual for newly arrived missionaries and often they were facing difficulties and hardships. In the missionary reports such difficulties were rather suggested than described in detail. The missionaries reported on the workload however, on difficulties with odd behaviours of patients, on the climatic circumstance and on the lack of comfort in the household.[810] Christine Hahn mentioned further difficulties in her diary, such as personal crises, financial problems and a lacking interest or even resistance of the target people at evangelistic gatherings.[811] Furthermore, she mentioned that missionaries with children had to leave the older ones at home in Germany or Switzerland. She considered such family splits as "possibly the most difficult sacrifice for the mission" (*wohl das schwerste Miss'opfer*).[812] Maja Meier also remembers that she herself experienced personal crisis:

> Maja Meier: (…) Jaa. Das isch, das isch au richtig so. Was häm mir ihnä z bringä? Höchstens unsere Glaube, und d'Liebi, d'Liebi, und d'Liebi hät min Maa gha. Würklich, und drum, wär nid d'Beruefig het vo Gott, d'Beruefig, de cha nid, de cha nid 20 Jahr dusse blibe. Da hät me oft welä, hani dänkt, oh am liebste weti de Koffer packe und würd go. Da hät me mängisch gnueg.[813]

Following the statement of the Swiss nurse, she gained new motivation for the service in the mission due to her conviction that God had called her personally for this work. The divine call, or further religious reflections, are often mentioned by the missionaries after having addressed difficult times or circumstances. Hence, the religious dimension and belief that God not only wanted the missionaries to do this service, but was also providing for them, were crucial for motivation.

All Egyptian interviewees -those who were directly involved in the medical work as well as the son of a nursing auxiliary who had grown up on the hospital compound- remember the

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[809] Maja Meier highlighted in the interview that she found her life serving as missionary very fulfilling and meaningful. In contrast, she finds the life in Switzerland, where she is living now, boring and empty. See Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 121).
[810] Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 45; and Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 12-3.
[811] Hahn, Christine: Tagebuch 1937-1939. EMO Archives. On Money trouble see diary entries 9.10.1937, and 22.10.1937; rejection resp. lack of interest in the evangelistic message, see diary entries 17.11.1937, 2.12.1937, and 30.12.1937; difficult living conditions (snakes and tarantulas) 30.4.1938; personal crisis, Christine Hahn feels „arm, leer u. kraftlos" ("poor, empty and feeble") see 5.9.1938.
[812] Hahn, Christine: Tagebuch 1937-1939. EMO Archives, entry 21.8.1938.
[813] "*Maja Meier:* (…) Yes. That's, that's also right this way. What can we bring them? At most our faith, and love, love, and my husband had this love. Really, and therefore, who does not have the call from God, the call, can not spend 20 years in the field. Often I wanted, often I thought, oh I would have nothing better than to pack the suitcase and leave. Sometimes one was so tired of it." See Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 111).

daily devotion and the religious gatherings in a positive manner.[814] However, and despite their evangelical conviction, none of them related a similar religious attitude towards the "spirit of serving" as the European missionaries did. Furthermore, neither the auxiliary nurse Sitt Shādiya nor the nurse Sister Maryam, do not mention any divine call or plan that let them choose their profession and work for the mission. They were led rather by their own professional interests to choose a work in the medical mission and also their contacts within the Protestant church were important.[815] Still, they did not regard their occupation as mere work, but for both it was a service to which they were emotionally and morally committed to, as Sister Mary highlighted:

المحاور: انتي شايفة بالنسبة ليكي ان فيه مصلحة ان انتي كنت عندك فرصة تتعلمي العمل العملي، في مستشفي شبين؟
سيستر مريم: انا اصلا التمريض ده انا كنت بحبه وانا صغيرة، يعني انا مش داخلة بس عشان اشتغل واخد فلوس وامشي، لأ ده انا كنت احب اكون مع الناس، اسعد التعبان كدة يعني اشتغل مع الناس التعبانين، يعني انا احب، اكون مش بس كدة شغل وخلاص، لأ ده كان حاجة كدة موجودة فيّ.[816]

The will to serve people in need- in particular sick people- formed the attitude towards the service stressed by Sister Maryam. She described this will as "being present in her" without relating it to a divine call. She rather emphasised her love for this service and for the people. To serve people in need, and the love thereof, expresses not only a certain kind of emotion, but also an attitude that is closely related to moral -and in particular Christian- values in the missionary discourse. The Egyptian interviewees often emphasised the values involved in the relations between medical staff and patients when speaking of "serving" or of the "spirit of serving". These values usually implied moral and emotional connotations. Besides the love mentioned by Sister Maryam, friendliness, understanding and patient care were characteristics attributed to the relations between professionals and patients.[817] These values involved in the care were crucial for the establishment of personal relations, a relationship that allowed for the perception of the other as a person, with individual needs and character.

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[814] Najīb ʿAzīz, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 05.08.2009 (transcript l. 009); Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 059-061); Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 21.03.2009 (transcript l. 077-084); and Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 123-125).

[815] Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 009-015); and Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 035).

[816] "*Interviewer*: Do you think that for you there was an advantage having the opportunity to learn the practical part of the work in the hospital in Shebin? *Sister Maryam*: From the beginning I liked nursing, I liked it since I was little, I mean I did not learn it only in order to have work, earn money and go away, no. I loved to be with the people, to help the sick, I mean to work with sick people, I liked that and it was not just a work and that's it. No, it was something that was present in me." See Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 069-070).

[817] Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 361-365); Najīb ʿAzīz, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 05.08.2009 (transcript l. 038); Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 21.03.2009 (transcript l. 093-095); and Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 069).

The Egyptian employees interviewed believe that their experiences, as well as their relations within the medical work, were crucial for them personally and made an important impact on the formation of their values. Thereby the missionaries, as well as senior Egyptian employees, were often seen as exemplary in their dealings with patients, as Sitt Shādiya highlighted:

ست شادية: اتعلمت منهم المحبة، والحنان للعيان، والمعاملة، المعاملة بتاعتهم
المحاور: المعاملة ؟
ست شادية: يعني المعاملة مع بعض.
المحاور: مع بعض
ست شادية: المعاملة مع بعض. والمحبة والسلام والمحبة لما نشوفهم هم مع العيانين ايه. بيعملوا ايه مع العيان، فه دي كمان كانت درس لنا. يعني ما نقدرش احنا عيان نزعق فيه، بنشوف ال(sister) بتكلمه بشويش، 'ايوة ياحبيبي معليش، انا اجيبلك' كدة، حتي لما يكون العيان متنرفز وكدة هي تهديه فاحنا اتعلمنا حاجة ذي كدة.[818]

Shādiya describes here that she learnt the values associated with the "spirit of serving" from exemplary situations and from the exemplary behaviour of the missionaries. As discussed in the chapter on education, these learning processes can be characterised as "learning by sharing". Furthermore, Shādiya specifies the practical meaning of values such as sympathy, peace, and love, in the care of -and service for- the patient. The nursing auxiliaries learned to understand a diseased person as patient who cannot be equally judged in his/her behaviour as relative to a healthy person. Since the patient was in a weak position due to the sickness, sympathetic understanding for his/her needs is crucial. Even when a patient was difficult or expresseed anger, the nursing auxiliaries learned not to take these expressions personally and react with irritation, but to stay friendly and try to provide comfort.[819] This attitude of remaining cordial despite difficulties can also be regarded as part of the process of professionalization. It was an appropriate behaviour for a person occupying an organisational role within medical work.

The interviewees mention similar values and modes of behaviour that are also expressed in the hospital regulations of the Sudan-Pionier Mission. In a section regarding patients we read:

„8.) Die Patienten sind von allen Mitgliedern der Station freundlich und liebevoll zu behandeln. Der Geist der Liebe und des Friedens, der die Station als Ganzes durchweht, ist für ihre Stellung entscheidend. Sie sind nicht nur als Kranke zu betrachten, sondern als Brüder und Schwestern mit unsterblichen Seelen, denen wir den Heiland schuldig sind. Auch Patienten, die sich zunächst dem Evangelium verschließen, sind in Geduld zu tragen. Bewußter und absichtlicher Gegenarbeit und Störung der missionarischen Arbeit an den übrigen Patienten ist

[818] "*Sitt Shādiya*: I have learned from them the love, the sympathy with the patient and the dealings, their dealings. *Interviewer*: Dealings? *Sitt Shādiya*: I mean the dealings with each other. *Interviewer:* With each other. *Sitt Shādiya*: The dealings with each other. And love, peace and the love, when we saw them with the patients. How they dealt with the patient, this was a lesson for us also. I mean we cannot yell at the patient. We saw how the nurse was talking to him mildly, 'yes darling, no problem, I will bring you…' they did so, even when the patient was irritated, but like that she calmed him down. We learned things like that." See Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 22.03.2009 (transcript l. 133-137).
[819] Dealing with difficult patients, see also Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 21.03.2009 (transcript l. 095).

mit freundlichem Ernst entgegenzutreten und wo nötig mit Entlassung ein Ende zu bereiten."[820]

Patients have to be treated with friendliness, love, peace and patience, and these values should pervade all relations within the social space of the hospital and create a corresponding atmosphere. Furthermore, the patients, though entering the hospital in order to cure their bodies, should not be treated as mere bodies, but as equivalent persons. As human beings with an immortal soul, they were in need to get to know the Gospel. Therefore, the evangelism of patients remained a crucial aim of medical work. The missionaries felt obligated towards patients ("owed the patients") to get them acquainted with the Christian message. The values propagated for the relationship with the patients were also closely related to the promotion of Christian faith. The missionaries considered the values mentioned and their corresponding behaviours as typical for their faith. Therefore they aimed to show an exemplary conduct in all personal relations within the hospital in order to demonstrate the practical meaning and moral goodness of Christianity. Harmonic and friendly relationships between the employees were hence also considered as a form of evangelism.[821]

Friendly relations between the employees were however more than a normative ideal. Following the accounts of the interviewees as well as the statements in the written sources, the relationships among the staff was experienced as harmonic and respectful. Christine Hahn for instance, wrote with high esteem of the Bible women, she was working with. Furthermore, she noted in her diary after leaving Darau that "the servant are zaʿlān (sad), I shall return soon" (*Diener sind zaʿlān, ich soll bald wiederkommen*).[822] Moreover, Sister Maryam emphasised her belief that for the patients, the spirit of friendliness and respect was noticeable, since there were no lies, and no swearing or bad words among the employees.[823] Sitt Shādiya claims that the atmosphere of the hospital was distinct from other social spaces. Characteristics of the people, as well as their moods, changed when they spent time in the hospital:

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[820] „8.) The patients have to be treated in a friendly and caring manner by all members of the ward. The spirit of love and peace that pervades the whole ward is crucial for their position. They are to be regarded not only as diseased persons, but also as brothers and sisters with immortal souls, to them we owe the Redeemer. Those patients initially closing their minds to the Gospel should be borne in patience. Deliberate and intended opposition and disturbance of the missionary work that aslo affectes the other patients, should be countered with friendly earnestness. If necessary this behaviour has to be ended through the discharge of the patient." See Klinik- und Hospital Ordnung für Assuan. 04.11.1933, EMO Archives, Green Folder: Dokumente Ägypten. Emphasis in the original.

[821] Klinik- und Hospital Ordnung für Assuan. 04.11.1933, EMO Archives, Green Folder: Dokumente Ägypten; Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 14; Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 27-9; and Herzfeld, "Vom Bauen," 43.

[822] See Hahn, Christine: Tagebuch 1937-1939. EMO Archives. Diary entry 11.10.1938. On the Bible woman, see entries between 13.4 and 31.5.1938. Further passages implying friendly and respectful relations between in particular between Egyptian and indigenous employees, see Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 11; and Gerhardt, "Von unseren Pflegerinnen," 6-7.

[823] Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 171).

المحاور: انتي قلتي لي في المقابلة اللي فاتت ، عشان الممرضات اللي بيبتدوا يتعلموا هم كانوا بيحسواعشان كان فيه محبة في المستشفي، ازاي كانت باينه المحبة ديه في المستشفي ؟

ست شادية: لما دخلوا المستشفي، دخلوا بطباع تاني يعني، غير ما الواحد بره، في بيته، غير ما دخل فيه حتة، حتة جديدة، وفيها المحبة وفيها السلام، فبقيوا زينا. يعني مفيش خلاف ومفيش مناقضة يعني، يقولوا'انتوا كدة احنا كدة،' لا. لا يعني دخلوا في المستشفي اتاسسوا بنا احنا بالناس القدام، بالمحبة والسلام وكمان العناية بالعيان، دي اهم حاجة. وكان عندنا رحمة للعيانين.[824]

Sitt Shādiya defines the hospital as a social space in similar lines as the hospital regulations. In her view, the quality of the interpersonal relations, the behaviour of the individuals and the prevalence of certain positively connoted values were crucial for the hospital atmosphere. Therefore, the hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission can be considered as *ordered space*, featuring characteristics similar to the examined missionary schools.[825]

The emphasis on harmony and friendliness in the relationships between the employees must also be regarded as part of a missionary discourse. Within this discourse normative claims are crucial. These statements pervade the accounts of the missionaries as well as those of the interviewees and they provide the framework for expressing their experience. Still, this discourse also allowed statements on difficulties in relationships, namely between Egyptian and European employees. These statements can also be found in publications written for missionary friends, as for instance in missionary reports. Thereby they often concerned nursing auxiliaries and addressed disciplinary issues or lack of education.[826] The German missionaries usually made critical remarks with a benevolent paternalistic attitude, while in contrast the British missionaries of the Egypt General Mission were much more judgmental. Thereby they considered themselves in the role of patient teachers and the indigenous employees as students.

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[824] "*Interviewer*: You told me in the last interview that the nurses who just started learning were feeling that there was love in the hospital. How was this love noticeable in the hospital? *Sitt Shādiya*: When they entered the hospital they entered with different traits, I mean they became different after they entered the hospital, from what they were at home or anywhere else, and since there was love and peace they became like us. I mean there were no quarrels and opposition, they don't say 'we are like that and you are like that', no. No, I mean they entered the hospital, they got influenced by us, by the older ones, by the love and peace and by the care for the patients, and this was the most important thing. We had compassion for the patients." See Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 21.03.2009 (transcript l. 091-092).

[825] On *ordered spaces*, see in particular Chapters 2.2.2 and 2.3. Besides the interpersonal relations and the individual's attitude towards the prevalent values and norms, the hierarchies, institutionalised roles within the medical organisation and specific rules were shaping the behaviour. Furthermore the relations and values promoted the establishment of a specific identity of the hospital. Similar to the former students, the missionaries as well as the former (auxiliary) nurses talk about a specific atmosphere was experienced by the individuals within the hospital. This atmosphere is part of the symbolic components that is formative for the identification with the "ordered space" and it promoted the distinction from other social spaces. Further reflections from a sociological perspective on formation of social space, see Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, 158-172.

[826] Herzfeld, Boulis, and Gerhardt, "Aus Briefen unserer Assuaner Geschwister," 6-7; Enderlin, *Taufiq, der rollende Stein,* 12-4; and Behncke, Gerhardt, and Herzfeld, "Aus dem Hospital in Assuan," 8. In particular in the initial phase of the Sudan-Pionier Mission's work the relations between the indigenous Evangelist Samuel ʿAlī Ḥusayn and the German missionary Theodor Kupfernagel were not harmonic in any means. The period was overshadowed by conflicts over competences and positions within the hierarchy and Kupfernagel clearly regarded Samuel as inferior. See Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,*226-9 and 262-72.

They were however considered to posse the same potentials to become "useful tools in the hand of the Lord" as the missionaries themselves.[827]

Often the relations between the employees did not remain purely professional, but evolved into personal relationships and even friendships. When Sitt Shādiya for instance was engaged, her senior missionary wanted to get to know her fiancé with the explanation: "You are my daughter and I want to know whom you are marrying, if he is good or not" (*antī bintī wa-anā ʿayza aʿraf illā intī hatitjawizī, kwayyis walā mish kwayyis)*.[828] Furthermore, some indigenous employees stayed in touch with German or Swiss missionaries, after they returned to their home countries.[829] Egyptian and European missionary staff often spent leisure time together, visited each other, and went on small outings together.[830] Other missionaries, such as Maja Meier, were busy with their family and primarily made their friends among the European missionaries.[831] However, also the Swiss nurse interviewed highlights that she had very friendly relationships to the Egyptian employees. She mentions that she and her family were invited to the employees' homes for dinner. Furthermore, the interviewed missionary nurse -as well as Egyptian interviewees- report that their children played together.[832]

The quality of the personal relationships between employees is crucial for the understanding of a successful "learning by sharing". This kind of learning is often associated with having an impact on the value systems and personalities.[833] The interviewees illustrate the friendly interpersonal relations by relaying experiences, thereby exemplifying certain values which are crucially associated with the atmosphere in the hospital. Sitt Shādiya, for instance, describes the collegial spirit at the hospital and relates it to the values of "grace" and "love" by telling the following example:

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[827] Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 10-3; Götte, *Lebensbilder zweier ägyptischer Frauen*, 28-32 and Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder*, 57. This paternalistic attitude towards the endigenious employees corresponds with Jeffrey Cox's finding that the „basis of missionary racism was institutional rather than ideological, rooted in a sense of missionary professionalism." See Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700*, 199.

[828] See Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 297).

[829] Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 21.03.2009 (transcript l. 046-054).

[830] Najīb ʿAzīz, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 05.08.2009 (transcript l. 077); Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 21.03.2009 (transcript l. 199-200 and 211-218); and Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 135-139).

[831] Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 085 and 099-106)

[832] Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 096-097). Najīb ʿAzīz, who grew up in the hospital compound of the Egypt General Mission, however mentions that sometimes they played with the children of the missionaries, but often the Egyptian and the foreign children preferred to spend their time separately. See Najīb ʿAzīz, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 05.08.2009 (transcript l. 026-032).

[833] An approach examining the learning and teaching processes within the Sudan-Pionier Hospital and the English Mission College, see Boulos, "Learning and Teaching in Missionary Institutions in Egypt (1900-1956)".

ست شادية :بس في حاجة حصلت مع الدكتورة 'Schmidt'. كنت مرة، كنا احنا في العيادة وفيه اربع ستات، عشان هي كانت بتاعت النساء، للستات. فانا كان راسي وجعاني، فقلت لها (k) فعندها دولاب في الاوضة، في ادوية وفي وحاجات. قلت لها، 'يا دكتورة انا راسي وجعاني اعملي معروف، اديني قرص'. مع زحمة الناس، فهي نسيت، نسيت. تاني يوم لما دخلنا الصالة، بعد ما طلعنا مسكتني من ايدي وقالت لي 'تعالي، انا عاوزاكي'. قلت لها 'في ايه؟' قالت لي، 'انا متأسفة.' فبقول لها 'متأسفة علي ايه يادكتورة؟ مفيش حاجة.' قالت لي 'لا انا عملت حاجة مش كويسة معاكي.' قلت لها 'معملتيش حاجة.' قالت لي 'لا انتي قلتي لي انا عايزة قرص ازبرين، انا وباليل افتكرت دة وانا مدتلكيش اسفة، معلش، ما تزعليش.' وقلت لها 'انا راسي خفت وبقيت خفيت خفيت و انا بقيت حلوة ومافيش حاجة.' فدي كانت اي حاجة يعني من الدكتورة. حاجة وفاتت، مكانتش تتكلم تقول لي 'انا متأسفة وانت كانت راسك وجعاكي' وكدة. يعني كان فيه رحمة بمحبة.[834]

Shādiya considers Dr. Schmidt's forgetting of the aspirin to be a minor fault and explains it as being due to the heavy workload on that day. However, the doctor's notice of the fault and her apology had a major significance for Shādiya. Not only did she feel that she had been taken seriously, but for her the incident came to exemplify the respectful and even affectionate relationships between working colleagues. Dr. Schmidt's reaction also reveals that, for her, neither the hierarchical position nor the workload made an apology unnecessary, since Shādiya's request had been justified and needed to be taken seriously. The obligation to help somebody in need had categorical validity for her.

Thus, good personal relations and the respect toward the more experienced and senior persons within the medical mission promoted their function as role models.[835] Role models taught by displaying an exemplary mode of conduct in everyday life. The values propagated became associated with the role model's way of acting and thinking which could in turn be appropriated and become part of the own habitus.

"Trust" appears often in the context of medical mission and it forms a precondition for the establishment of relations and in particular personal relations with the local people. The missionaries also considered the medical mission as important resource to gain the trust of the local population and make them willing to listen to the evangelistic message.[836] However, medical missionaries were not simply trusted. After all, the diseased persons had to entrust their bodies to a stranger, possibly even to a person of the opposite sex, who touched, medicated or

[834] "But something happened with Dr. Schmidt. She was a gynaecologist. One day we were in the clinic and treated four patients. I had a headache and I told her, 'Doctor, I have a headache, please do me the service and give me a pill.' We had a medicine cupboard in the room. However, we had a lot of patients, so she forgot. The next day, when we entered the hall and after we went upstairs, she held my hand and told me, 'Please come, I want to tell you something.' I asked her, 'What is it about?' She told me, 'I am sorry.' So I asked her, 'Sorry for what, Doctor? Nothing happened.' She said, 'No, I did something wrong with you.' I told her, 'No you didn't.' She said, 'No, you told me you wanted an aspirin, and yesterday in the evening I remembered that I didn't give it to you. I am sorry, don't be upset.' And I told her, 'My head is fine again and I am also fine again and everything is fine.' So this was an example from Dr. Schmidt. It was only a minor thing, not worth telling me 'I am sorry that I forgot about your headache' and so on. So, as you see, there was grace together with love." See Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 21.03.2009 (transcript l. 097).

[835] Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 057-062); and Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 141 and 167-172).

[836] Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 29; and Unruh, "Jahresbericht 1936," 70-1.

even conducted a surgery. Furthermore, the healing practices in Upper Egyptian villages in the beginning of the twentieth century were considerably different to the unfamiliar cures offered by the missionaries for the local people. Therefore, the missionaries were happy to have indigenous employees who accompanied them in their visits to the villages:

„Muhammed, der selbst aus einem der nördlichsten nubischen (sic) Dörfern, wenig südlich von Assuan, stammt, freute sich sehr darauf, die südlichen Ortschaften kennen zu lernen (sic). Sein Heimatort Dabot ist schon fast ganz verlassen, weil er den größten Teil des Jahres von den Wassern des gestauten Nil überflutet ist. Sein Mitkommen war uns ein rechtes Geschenk. Nicht nur war er bald eine große Hilfe in der Küche und bei den Kranken; sondern in seiner freundlichen, stillen Art fand er auch in den vielen verschiedenen Orten, die wir besuchten, bald die Anknüpfung mit den Leuten. Er wurde tüchtig von ihnen ausgefragt; und was er von unserer Arbeit in Assuan erzählte, trug entschieden dazu bei, Vertrauen und Hochachtung zu mehren."[837]

Dr. Herzfeld understands her Nubian co-worker as an individual person with emotions and characteristics and thereby openly notes appreciation and trust. Muḥammad was considered as belonging to the missionaries although he was Muslim. In return he acted with loyalty to his German and Christian colleagues and did not only fulfil his job as cook and nursing auxiliary, but also acted as an important mediator between missionaries and local communities. As a Nubian, he was trusted by the people in the villages and this enabled the establishment of a trust of the missionaries.[838]

However, medical missionaries also faced with distrust which hindered their ability to reach the people. This distrust was not limited to the initial phase of the medical work, but the missionary periodically faced it even decades later. The missionaries usually blamed rumours when their services were refused, or when they were met with animosity.[839] Some of these "rumours" addressed the religious objects of the missionaries. Christine Hahn writes an example of one such encounter in her diary: „The children there stayed away because of the stupid rumour that we want to make all of them to Christians."[840] Notably Hahn identified the intention to make all of the children to Christians as a "stupid rumour", although this corresponded to the official objectives of the mission. In the villages south of Aswan the mission-

[837] "Muhammad, who came from the most northern Nubian villages only a little south from Aswan, was very much looking forward to get to know the southern localities. His hometown Dabot is already almost deserted, since it is floated by the water of the dammed Nile during most of the year. His company was a real gift for us. He soon became not only a great help in the kitchen and with the diseased people, but due to his friendly and quiet nature, he soon also found access to the people in the various villages we were visiting. They diligently interrogated him and what he told from our work in Aswan, contributed to the increase of trust and high esteem." See Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 11.

[838] Sometimes also other patients took the role as mediator and helped newcomers to trust the missionaries. See Kallenbach, Herzfeld, and Götte, "Bericht vom Missionsfeld," 9-10.

[839] Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 8-9.

[840] „Die Kinder dort sind weggeblieben wegen des dummen Gerüchtes, dass wir sie alle zu Christen machen wollen." See Hahn, Christine: Tagebuch 1937-1939. EMO Archives, entry 17.11.1938.

aries were sometimes also refused because the people identified all European Christians with the colonial power. Therefore, they were held collectively responsible for the construction of the dam that had drowned several Nubian villages.[841]

Generally however, the missionaries reported an increasing trust and the number of patients underscored this tendency. The good reputation in the region and the success rate of the cures were crucial for the establishment of trust.[842] Furthermore, the missionaries experienced that many patients were willing to listen to evangelistic preaching, but only if their illness or wounds were treated prior.[843] Although the missionaries reported occasional resistance against their preaching from "fanatic Muslims", they generally stressed the interest of the people in their message.[844]

Also the interviewees, both Egyptian and Swiss, generally emphasise the good relations between Christians and Muslims within the medical work and furthermore highlight that the patients only rarely got upset by evangelistic activities. Similar to the former missionary students interviewed, they emphasise that Christians and Muslims maintained harmonious -or at least tension free- relations within missionary institutions. They often add that inter-religious relations were generally less complicated in the past then in present-day Egypt.[845] Najīb ʿAzīz illustrates the great acceptance of Christians working for the mission by Muslim patients with the following incident that his father, a nursing auxiliary in the Egypt General Mission's hospital and later in the German hospital in Aswan, experienced:

المحاور: ازاي كانت بتبان المحبة ده؟
نجيب عزيز: انا لا انسي ان واحد من الكبار في شبين القناطر، بابا كان قاعد معاه، وبابا كان عنده صليب كبير، علي ايده. فقاله ʾعشان خاطرك ياقسيس (k) يا يا شيخ "عزيز"، عايز اشكرك'، وباس علي الصليب المرسوم علي ايد بابا. وكان اسمه"احمد"، "عم احمد".[846]

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[841] Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 28-9. The British built a large dam at Aswan in order to make perinal irrigation in 1902. See Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt* ,120.

[842] Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 10; Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 018-021); and Faust, "Volle Arbeit," 107.

[843] Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 12.

[844] Resistance and „fanatic Muslims", see zu Hohenlohe and Götte, "Berichte vom Missionsfelde," 56; and Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 56. Rafla Efendi, in a handwritten report on the evangelistic activities, highlights that usually people in the hospital, where he preached, listened attentively and only in rare cases there was deliberate disturbance. See Juwakim, Rafla: Taqrīr ʿan ḥālat al-ʿamal bi-Aswān. 20.03.1936, EMO Archives, Personal File of Rafla Efendi. Trust combined with the interest of people in the Christian message are often mentioned in printed reports. See for instance Küster and Herzfeld "Vom Missionsfeld," 32-3.

[845] Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 21.03.2009 (transcript l. 085-089); Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 057 and 067) and Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 112), opposition against evangelism, see (transcript l. 247-250). On visits to the people's homes, usually the older women were more interested in hearing the evangelistic message, while the younger women were busy with their children and wanted the missionary provide medical treatments. See Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23./24.01.2010 (transcript l. 313-322).

[846] "*Interviewer*: How did this love become apparent? *Najīb ʿAzīz*: My father had a big cross tattooed on his hand. I cannot forget how he was looking after one of the important people of Shebin el-Kanater, who said to my fa-

By kissing Shaykh ʿAzīz's hand, Aḥmad chose a humble way of expressing his respect and gratitude towards Najīb ʿAzīz's father for the care received at the hospital. Doing so, as an important person in the village, he emphasised his gratefulness. Kissing the tattooed cross was an additional expression of humility for a Muslim. Since he deliberately chose this act, he particularly intended to express recognition and respect toward the faith of the Christian missionaries. Aḥmad did not convert to Christianity and, generally, only very few cases of converts are mentioned in the context of medical missions. The patients and their accompanying family members might have been interested in the evangelistic preaching and they may even have appreciated the ideas they heard. Furthermore, they may have been very grateful for the medical services they received. Yet still, a change of religion and public conversion to Christianity was usually no topic for them (if it would have been, the missionaries would have reported it).

When a trust relation between the missionaries and local people was established, the foundation for personal and closer relationships was set. In the missionary reports we find references to closer personal relationships with patients and former patients, in particular when a prolonged contact took place. Closeness within certain relationships between missionaries and people from the indigenous communities is noticed in emotionally connoted expressions. For instance, when the missionaries were visiting people already known to them, they were often received with great hospitality. The people were reported as expressing their joy and affection vividly when the missionaries arrived and their regrets when they were leaving again.[847] They showed gratefulness for the medical services and, though often quite poor, insisted on giving something in return (usually food products or living chickens).[848] Furthermore, when the missionaries established a station or were present for a longer time, they grow increasingly integrated into the local community:

„Vor einigen Tagen machte uns der erste Iman (sic) (Vorbeter) von Darau einen Besuch. Er sagte: 'Da mein Freund Enderlin fort ist, muß ich kommen, um zu sehen, wie es Ihnen hier geht?' Er hatte viel zu erzählen aus der langen Zeit des Zusammengehörens mit Herrn Enderlin. Immer wieder fragen die Menschen nach ihm. 'Wir gönnen ihm alle die Ferien', sagen sie, 'aber er ist doch ein Darauer'. Damit wollen sie sagen: er gehört zu uns."[849]

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ther: 'For your sake, pastor ʿAzīz (k) shaykh ʿAzīz, I would like to thank you,' and then he kissed the cross on my father's hand. And his name was «Aḥmad», ʿAmm Aḥmad"." Najīb ʿAzīz, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 05.08.2009 (transcript l. 039-041). A "shaykh" is a member of a Presbyterian parish council.

[847] Herzfeld, "Unsere Freunde, die Bischarin," 5-6; Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder*, 81-91; and Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 11-2

[848] zu Hohenlohe and Götte, "Berichte vom Missionsfelde," 55-6; and Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 13.

[849] „A few days ago the first Imam (prayer leader) of Darau paid us a visit. He said: 'Since my friend Enderlin is away, I had to come and see how you are?' He told us a lot from the long-standing togetherness with Mr Enderlin. Repeatedly the people ask about him. 'We do not begrudge him all his holidays', they say, 'but he is also a Daraui'. Thereby they want to say: he belongs to us." See Götte, Marthaler, and Gauer, "Vom Missionsfeld," 92. Also in the context of the Egypt General Mission, the establishment of friendly relationships or even friendships

The missionaries must have felt honoured by the Imam's act of politeness and the people's friendly remarks about Enderlin. Correspondingly, they mention these incidents in missionary reports in order to demonstrate their harmonic relations and acceptance by the local people who address the missionaries as part of their community.[850] The incident described provides insight into interreligious relations. Apparently the religious objectives of the mission did not form an obstacle for the first Imam of the village, insofar as he maintained a friendly and apparently close relationship with the missionary Enderlin. His visit indicates that the missionaries and their institution were appreciated, despite their different religious affiliation.

Closer personal relations are also indicated, such as when missionaries portrayed the visited and treated people as individuals, when they are mentioned by name, and when sometimes even parts of their life story was told.[851] Such descriptions show that the patient did not remain within an amorphous mass of patients and was not simply considered as mere object of their mission, but that personal encounters impacted upon identification and upon the creation of individual relationships. Such closer relationships enabled the missionaries to encounter the people in a less judgmental manner and helped them to gain a better understanding of the situation and problems of locals. This understanding was also necessary in order to find solutions for the obstacles the people faced. For instance, Elisabeth Herzfeld mentions that the missionaries informed the people of a Nubian village to boil their water since the water of the dammed Nile was the cause of many illnesses. The people continued drinking the polluted water, however, and Herzfeld expressed her understanding: she could imagine the enormous amount of water each person drank in the heat of the summer and knew that boiling was not a suitable method for purification. In order to provide an alternative, the missionaries considered the digging of a well in this village.[852]

3.2.2 Health and Morality: Discourses on Cleanliness, Hygiene and Superstition

Willi Fröhlich, the first missionary doctor who worked for the Sudan-Pionier Mission, was aghast at the state of the patients he encountered in the rural areas:

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with Muslims is remembered to have been crucial. See Georg and Mary White, interview by author, tape recording, Cheltenham 8. 11. 2008 (recording 1:22:45 - 1:24:15).

[850] Also in other villages, where the missionaries were well known, the local people apparently identified the missionaries as "belonging to us". See Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 57.

[851] Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 12-4; and Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder*, 65-80.

[852] Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 17-8 and 22.

"Ganz schrecklich ist auch der Schmutz und die namenlose Verwahrlosung, in der diese Fellachen leben; ganz besonders die Damen stehen auf einem so tiefen Standpunkt, dass sie selber immer und immer wieder ausrufen: ‚Sind wir denn nicht Tiere!' Es braucht immer wieder ein ziemliches Maß von Ueberwindung, diese Leute in ihrem Schmutz, in ihren alten, stinkenden Fetzen freundlich und liebreich zu behandeln. Die langen auf dem Boden schleifenden Kleider und Tücher wirbeln immer wieder den Staub auf. Hunderte vielleicht Tausende von Fliegen folgen mit solchen schweißigen, mit allerlei Geschwüren, allerlei Ausschlag bedeckten oder an eitrigen Augen leidenden Frauen und Kinder; denn die Männer sind hierzulande immer bedeutend besser gepflegt und gereinigt."[853]

As a doctor, Fröhlich had to touch, examine and treat the bodies of patients, and hence had closer physical contact with the people than, for instance, the evangelists or the Bible women. Treating the poor patients in Upper Egyptian villages was not always easy for him. Despite his routine and professional clinical view on sickness, he sometimes felt disgust. The doctor describes his female patients as deeply squalid, wearing dirty cloths and stinking rags. Their bodies were unwashed and the diseases were manifest on the surface of their bodies, making the misery clearly visible and tangible. The self-image of the women complied with the appearance described. They did not consider themselves as "ladies" (*Damen*) as Fröhlich calls them in the passage, but as "animals" and hence as not belonging to the human community anymore. Furthermore, the Swiss doctor highlights that women and children in particular were living in squalid conditions while the men usually were better able to care of their personal hygiene.

Statements on dirt and cleanliness, on hygiene and health, but also on gender relations in the Egyptian society, are widespread in the missionary booklets and journals. In this chapter I will consider the question of why these topics occupy such a central position in the missionaries' writings. Starting with the concept of cleanliness, I will explore the related categories and examine which practices, concepts and values are associated with it. The missionaries' description and evaluation of the hygienic situation in Egypt are, therefore, examined. Thereby, the demarcation from other concepts and healing practices in Egyptian society, often labelled as superstition by the missionaries, also have to be considered. Finally, the missionaries' means and arguments in promoting hygiene and health will be studied.[854]

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[853] "Particularly terrible is the dirt and the indescribable squalid these fallāḥīn are living in. Notably the ladies are on such a low level that even they themselves exclaim again and again ‚Aren't we just animals!'. It always requires a particular effort to bring oneself to treat these people in their dirt and in their old, stinking rags with friendliness and affection. The long clothes and cloths are dragged along the ground and they whirl up dust. Hundreds or even thousands of flies are following such sweaty women and children, who are covered with various boils and rashes, or who suffer from festering eyes. The men however, are always much neater and cleaner here in these parts of the country." See Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 45.

[854] Arguments of this chapter and further reflections have been published in my article in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*. See Boulos, ",A clean heart like clean clothes'".

Sources and Approach

In order to examine the conceptions and practices associated with cleanliness, hygiene and health, a different approach is chosen from that of the chapters on schools and on the hospital. While in these chapters a specific organisation, its functionalities and the experiences of the people involved were in the core of my study, I focus here on certain crucial topics that cannot be attributed to a single institution. Cleanliness, hygiene, and health, together with corresponding practices, were relevant issues for the Sudan-Pionier Mission as well as for the Egypt General Mission, for the Egypt Inter-Mission Council and -to a lesser degree- also for the English Mission College. Accordingly, I will examine regularly appearing statements and their associated practices. The focus of my interest here lies on the formation of modalities of what can be said and thought on cleanliness, health, the human body and the Egyptian family.[855]

It is not within the scope of this chapter to characterise the hygienic situation in Egypt or the cleanliness customs that were actually practiced by the people. Neither do I provide an account of the social or familial structures in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century. Rather, I explore discourses related to Protestant missionary institutions. With this, I am interested in the contexts in which statements on cleanliness appear and the manner in which these statements are linked to other topics. I seek to study the values, practices, and concepts produced and shaped by discourses that were attached to missionary institutions in Egypt and that left their traces both in the writings of the missionaries and in the concepts of former missionary students and employees.[856]

For the analysis of the missionaries' conceptions and practices related to hygiene, health and gender, I examine sources drafted by missionaries working for the Egypt General Mission, the Sudan-Pionier Mission and the English Mission College. Besides missionary journals and booklets written for their supporters, conference papers given at the annual Egypt Inter-Mission Council conference will also be studied. Moreover I analyse Arabic sources printed for the target population by missionary publishing houses. These writings were widely used by most of the Protestant missionary societies in the Middle East. Such publications were not only sold, but the missionaries used them also in their work by reading them to an audience in

[855] Foucault, *Archäologie des Wissens,* 178-87.
856 I use Michel Foucault's notion of discourse, as developed in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *Orders of Discourse.* On the notion of discourse and the analysis of discursive formations, see in particular Foucault, *Archäologie des Wissen,* 61-82 and 104-12*;* and Foucault, *Die Ordnung des Diskurses,* 10-38.

gatherings.[857] Finally, oral history interviews with former missionary students and employees of missionary institutions show that cleanliness was an important topic in the missionary work.

Cleanliness Conceptions and hygienic Practices

Before I address questions on the missionaries' descriptions of the hygienic situation in Egypt, I would like to share some reflections on cleanliness. Following Mary Douglas, dirt can be defined as a matter that is out of place. This definition of dirt implies two conditions: a set of ordered relations, and a contravention of that order. Thus dirt is nothing absolute, but always relative to an ordered system. We would not consider food as something dirty, for example, but food on clothes is regarded as dirt.[858] Cleaning is therefore an act of restoring an order. It is a mode of action that we find in every society and culture. But the way bodies and houses are kept clean is part of a society's customs and can differ.[859] Cleaning customs are closely linked to conceptions of dirt and cleanliness.

In addition, the hygienic practices and conceptions of cleanliness of European missionaries working in Egypt have to be regarded in their historical and cultural context. Their (and also our) hygienic conceptions are the product of nineteenth-century European middle class culture. The growing population in industrialised cities and in particular the very poor and overcrowded neighbourhoods of the working class were affected by epidemics causing many fatalities. After the 1830/1 cholera epidemic which originated in Asia, the "Sanitary Movement" inspiring similar movements in German cities, was formed in England and aimed to improve public health and moral situations in the working class slums.[860] Besides improving water supplies, drainage and sewage systems, the middle class activists of these movements taught how to lead a clean existence which always also meant a moral, tidy life. Thus cleanliness was regarded to be more than a health issue: leading a clean life would create happier, more disciplined, sober and peaceful workforces.[861]

The noble elite of the *ancien régime* knew a dry hygiene. The skin was rubbed with perfumed cloths. Only hands and the face were washed with water. Bathing in water was viewed as ra-

[857] In several of these booklets I found handwritten notes and translations. I doubt that the missionaries were reading these booklets for their own interests but rather to prepare meetings or to acquire the useful vocabulary and arguments for discussions with Egyptian women.
[858] Douglas, *Reinheit und Gefährdung,* 52-4.
[859] Malinar and Vöhler, "Einleitung: Un/Reinheit," 9-14.
[860] Labisch, *Homo hygienicus,* 114-8; and Smith, *Clean,* 265-306.
[861] Frey, *Der reinliche Bürger*; Spieker, "'Jedem Deutschen wöchentlich ein Bad!'," Löneke and Spieker, "Einleitung"; and Sarasin, *Reizbare Maschinen,* 18-24.

ther dangerous. Water and heat were believed to open the pores, and it was thought that the body was thus exposed to dangerous germs.[862] At the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century, new hygienic discourses became more powerful. Modern hygienic writings had a hybrid character, because old humoral medical arguments were linked with new scientific terminology.[863] A new relationship with the body was popularised in the middle class. At the centre of this hygienic discourse stood the belief that the individual was responsible for his health, sickness, and even the time of his death. Regularly washing the body with soap and water, as well as the fight against parasites living on the human body, were part of the new cleanliness customs. The hygienic regime was part of what Pierre Bourdieu might call *habitus;* a habitus of the middle class. With these specific practices they wanted to set themselves apart from the nobility and from the working class. Therefore, the hygienist Justus von Liebig could proclaim in 1844 that the cultural height of a nation depended on the extent of its soap consumption.[864]

Perception of Cleanliness, Health States and Gender Relations

Cleanliness and personal hygiene was a topic central to the missionaries who worked in Egypt. Missionaries working for the Sudan-Pionier Mission as well as for the Egypt General Mission critically described and commented on the conditions of cleanliness of Egyptian homes and inhabitants in their published accounts. Often these remarks are not just sober notation and descriptions, but rather descriptions with emotional and even judgmental undercurrents. Apparently the missionaries were occupied with this topic to the degree that notes on dirt or hygiene were written not only in missionary journals and booklets published for an interested public, but also in personal writings. Christine Hahn, for example, a missionary from the Sudan-Pionier Mission, notes in her diary after visiting an Egyptian home, "Meager, but clean house" (*Ärmliches, aber sauberes Haus*), and in another situation she judges "everything very dirty" (*alles sehr schmutzig*).[865] However, in the writings of missionaries working for the English Mission College, similar remarks on cleanliness and dirt are much less prevalent. These missionaries were mostly working among urban middle-class families. In order to understand the missionaries' preoccupation with cleanliness and dirt, I will examine the con-

[862] Sarasin, *Reizbare Maschinen,* 267-9; and Gossmann, "'So viel Unheil quillet aus dem schmutzigen Unterrocke!'," 87-92.
[863] Sarasin, *Reizbare Maschinen,* 27.
[864] Sarasin, *Reizbare Maschinen,* 260.
[865] Hahn, Christine: Tagebuch 1937-1939. EMO Archives, entries 15.8.1938 and 2.8.1937.

texts in which these statements appear. Furthermore, the missionaries' explanations of the causes of dirt will be studied.

Dirty clothes from the dusty streets of Upper Egypt are described without any moral assessment. Due to the climatic circumstances, patients and visitors brought a lot of dust to the Sudan-Pionier Mission's hospital facilities.[866] The dirt and dust on the clothes of these people were seen as a result of their simple and poor standard of living.[867] Statements on dirty clothes and unwashed bodies often appear in the same context and are closely associated. The poor people were not able to afford new clothes and, therefore, wore dirty rags. Furthermore, the sanitary situation in their villages and neighbourhoods did not provide them with water to bathe and wash their clothes more regularly. Eventually, a deficit in the awareness of the importance of hygiene was directly related to their state of cleanliness, and exacerbated by the peoples' daily hardship and lack of education.[868]

The lack of moral connotations in the descriptions does not mean that filthy clothing and housing were considered unproblematic. The hygienic situation in rural Egypt was regarded as a major cause of sickness and infant mortality. The missionaries described the average village house as a place where animals and humans lived closely together. The floor of the house "is strewn with broken maize and cotton plant and other rubbish. Often in the centre of the courtyard is a muddy patch where water used for washing has been emptied".[869] These sanitary conditions, together with the poverty that caused malnutrition, were seen as major causes for many of the diseases. Rural Egyptians for instance often suffered from bilharzia, hookworm infections, malaria, and eye-diseases.[870]

Statements on dirt and sickness are often closely associated with ignorance.[871] According to the missionaries, many people lacked knowledge about the importance of light, fresh air and clean water, as well as that of modern baby care, and clean houses, clothes, and bodies. Village dwellers and the poorer classes were particularly ignorant of what the missionaries considered to be the actual causes of sicknesses and infant mortality. Many people associated diseases and accidents with supernatural powers, and particularly the belief in the "evil eye" was

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[866] Marie Agnes zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, quoted in: Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 44.
[867] Wolter, quoted in Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 65.
[868] Wolter, "Aus den Berichten vom Missionsfeld: Assuan," 45; Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes,"45; Rumsey, "First Impressions," 73; and Harwood, "These little ones… in My Name," 86.
[869] Cutting and Saad, "Teaching Preventive Medicine, especially in Relation to Egyptian Villages," 24.
[870] Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 11, Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes,"45; and Cutting and Saad, "Teaching Preventive Medicine, especially in Relation to Egyptian Villages," 25-31.
[871] Langford and Webb, "A Glimpse of Mahmudiya," 138; Bailey, "The Church and Egyptian Villages," 11; and Fröhlich, "Vom Missionsfeld: Assuan, Ende April 1915," 34-5.

widespread in the Middle East.[872] These conceptions of sickness led to preventative measures and treatments of diseases that were not based on the missionaries' medical conceptions, and hence were considered to be superstition. Therefore Ignorance in health and matters of hygiene was often closely associated to superstition and bore connotations of judgment.[873]

Statements on ignorance and superstition can particularly be found in the context of inappropriate baby care, sick infants and the high child mortality rate. The ignorant mother was hence a central topic for the missionaries, when they described problems of hygiene and health in Egyptian society. Missionaries often complained in their reports that the women who arrived to health facilities, were bringing their children too late and in a very bad health condition.[874] When mothers, in particular from the rural areas and poor urban neighbourhoods, were searching help for their sick infants in a medical institution of the missionaries, they had usually tried other treatments. Often the young patients wore amulets and charms. Furthermore, the mothers had sought help from a saint or hoped that a pilgrimage to a shrine or another holy place might bring healing. These practices were criticised by the missionaries as superstition.[875]

The missionaries considered Islam as a driving factor for what they called superstition, for they associated the charms, consisting in rolled Quran verses, and the pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, as part of Muslim faith.[876] But the Copts are also portrayed as being ignorant regarding their Christian faith, and the missionaries considered them as equally superstitious as Muslims.[877] Although the missionaries did not deny the existence of supernatural powers, they criticised the use of amulets, charms and the pilgrimage to shrines as worthless. These practices were even seen to be harmful, since they were delaying the medical treatments in the hospitals in clinics. Certain practices however were not only considered as ineffective, but al-

[872] Philips, "Description of some new Methods of Approach to Moslems and their Appraisement," 19; Dodd, *Methods of Promoting Rural Health in the Near East*, 1-2 and 8; Liesching, "The Place of Baby Welfare Centres in Missionary Work To-Day," 45-6. The evil eye was believed to make mischief and was closely related to malicious or envious people and their wishes.
[873] Channing, "The day's work at Abu Hammad and Tel-el-Kebeer," 96-7; Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien*, 7-9; and Swan, *Lacked ye anything?,* 46.
[874] Steel, "Medical Work," 60-1; Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 11-2; and Faust, "Volle Arbeit," 108.
[875] Harwood, "These little ones… in My Name," 87-8; Fröhlich, "Vom Missionsfeld: Assuan, Ende April 1915," 35; and Enderlin, "Was ist der Islam?," 15-6. For a medical anthropological view on healing rituals in rural Egypt, see Morsy, *Gender, Sickness, and Healing in Rural Egypt,* 17-9.
[876] Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 14-6; Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 65-6; and Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 3-11
[877] Herzfeld, Boulis, and Gerhardt, "Aus Briefen unserer Assuaner Geschwister," 6; and Cohen, "Opening of a New Centre," 182-3.

so as uncanny and occult, and therefore in some accounts the practices of Sufis or the performance of zār were considered as "devil performances".[878]

Certain "superstitious" practices, particularly in the field of baby care, contradicted the conception of cleanliness of the missionaries, as the following excerpt from an Egypt General Mission account shows:

"Sitting inside on the floor is a young woman playing with a baby girl she holds in her arms, a dear little mite who would be very sweet if only her mother would wash her face, comb her hair, and drive the flies off her eyes, and put on her a pretty little dress instead of the ugly, dirty, patched thing she is now wearing. (…) Several little babies have come into that home, only to stay a little while and then to slip away leaving a sad little mother with empty arms; and she is sure it was because they were all such pretty babies and she was foolish enough to show her pride in them, that the evil spirits, always lurking near, were jealous and stole them away, one by one, from her!"[879]

The missionary was not portraying not a specific family, but rather what she considered to be an exemplary Egyptian family in the Delta. The young mother had previously lost children. She believed, with many other mothers, that not washing the baby or dressing her girl with old rags would be a suitable means to keep away jealous spirits or envious people with their "evil eyes" away. The missionaries often described such situations with moral outrage. This emotion was nourished by the sheer dirtiness of the babies and the superstition of the mothers, for they regarded this kind of baby care as misguided and hazardous to the health of the child.[880] Statements on cleanliness and dirt, associated with the topic of health, appear very often within the context of baby care, particularly when describing the practices of poorer classes.

Filthiness however, was not only a health issue in the missionaries' writing, nor was hygiene only a problem for the underclasses; German-speaking missionaries associated dirty houses and clothes with the oppression of women under the patriarchal rule of men. In this context dirt is first mentioned as a consequence of women's oppression. The Swiss doctor Willi Fröhlich, working for the Sudan-Pionier Mission before World War I, describes the house of one of his female patients:

"Die Frau ist aus guter Familie und durfte daher nicht aus dem Hause heraus zu unserer Klink kommen. Wir sind wieder einmal tief ergriffen vom Los dieser Muhammedanerinnen. Den Mann des Hauses fanden wir im schönen sauberen Empfangsraum auf Kissen und Teppichen sitzen, während die operierte, kranke Frau in einem engen, dunklen entsetzlich schmutzigen

[878] Bailey, "The Church and Egyptian Villages," 11; Blaikie, "Devil-possession in Egypt," 69-72; and quoted passage, see King, "Suez: Pulling down and Building up (Jer. i. 10)," 45.
[879] Holmes, "One Little Lass," 6.
[880] Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 11-2; Faust, "Volle Arbeit," 108; Harwood, "These little ones… in My Name," 86-8; and Channing, "Our Dispensaries," 20-1. Similar description of practices to keep the "evil eye" away can also be found in the slums of Cairo. See Lunde, "Building Bonny Babies," 90-5.

Raum auf einer Strohmatte im Staube saß und die ganze lärmende Bande der Kinder mit tausend Fliegen um sich hatte."[881]

The harem, where -according to the doctor- the socially inferior part of the family lives, has characteristics of a prison or a stable: it is dark, cramped, and very dirty. The reception room in which the patient's husband is sitting appears in sharp contrast: it is clean and beautiful, the cushions and carpets reminding the reader of the exotic Orient. In this context dirt is not linked to poverty but to the inferior status of women, and cleanliness appears as an attribute of the privileged male part of the society.

A further topic is implied in Fröhlich's account of this family: the problem of disorder. Fröhlich talks about the dirty room as well as about the rackety gang of children with thousands of flies around them. These children do not behave as they are supposed to and are not looked after in a proper manner.[882] But Fröhlich does not blame the mother for the neglected and misbehaving children. Since the mother has an eye-disease, it is impossible for her to fulfil her domestic duties and educate her offspring properly. She is deprived of the power a woman and mother should have. Her husband is described as caring more for his own good and for the appearance of his house than for the well-being of his wife and children. For Fröhlich, this domestic organisation resulted in the squalidness of home and children. Alongside the disorder caused by improperly educated children, cleanliness is seen in close connection with orderliness in houses. Messiness and filthiness are very often mentioned in the same context.[883]

As a matter of fact, clean houses were associated not only with orderliness, but with the good behaviour of the inhabitants. Fröhlich tells us about the house and family of one of his former Nubian patients: the house is described as "very clean and orderly" (*sehr rein und ordentlich*), and the host as very friendly and as affectionately caring about his sick wife.[884]

Not even the nudity of their boys did Fröhlich regard as a sign of squalidness and disorder. Both parents were embarrassed that the doctor saw the children without clothes, but explained that the boys did not tolerate any clothing because of the great heat. Thus the missionaries did not regard neglected children, messiness and dirtiness as a Nubian or Egyptian problem per

[881] "The woman is from a good family and therefore was not allowed to leave the house to come to our clinic. We found the man of the house in the nice, clean reception room, sitting on cushions and carpets, while his sick wife, who had just had surgery, was sitting on a straw mat in a tight, dark, terribly dirty room. She had the whole rackety gang of children with thousands of flies around her." See Willi Fröhlich, quoted in: Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 43.

[882] Fröhlich also describes dirty children in other contexts, in close connection with misbehaviour. See Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 65.

[883] Götte, *Lebensbilder zweier ägyptischer Frauen,* 20 and 31-32; and Götte, *Offene Türen zu verschlossenen Harims,* 11.

[884] Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 101.

se. If the members of a family treated each other with respect, it was more likely that the household could be kept clean and tidy.

The missionaries located dirt mainly in the female domain: the house and the children. But they did not blame the women in the first place for messy houses and filthy kids. Egyptian women, especially in the rural areas and in Muslim families, were often not able to fulfil that which the missionaries regarded as female duties because of women's inferior position in the society. In missionary journals and booklets, the topic of the oppression of women is widespread. Thereby Islam was portrayed as a subjacent cause for these social and familial wrongs. The missionaries were critical that Islamic law allowed marriages with underage girls, enabled men to easily divorce and accepted polygamy. [885] The picture of the suffering woman in an oppressive family system was intended to evoke both the reader's outrage against the Muslim religion and, pity for the girls and women that the missionaries were working with:

"Taking it for granted that a Moslem woman is fairly happily married, who knows how long her happiness will last? Any day her husband may tire of her and bring home another woman, for his religion allows him to have four wives. The new-comer will take her place, while she will be nothing better than a servant, or, worse still, she may be divorced and her children taken from her.
In Moslem homes the man is on top, and has power to crush and to oppress, while the woman is entirely dependent on her husband or other male relatives. In ignorance and hopelessness she accepts all that comes to her of suffering, because it is her 'fate.'"[886]

This excerpt, as with many other missionary sources, provides the following picture when dealing with the topic of Muslim families: in the domestic sphere, the man despotically ruled the family. Often girls did not have a chance to get an education. Some families regarded female literacy as a disgrace and an obstacle to marriage. Girls were needed to work at home and to watch over their younger brothers and sisters.[887] Often they were wed in their early teenage years (sometimes to a much older man). In doing so, the fathers did not care about the needs of their daughters. A woman's situation within matrimony was slave-like and without any perspective: her duty was to serve, and her husband was allowed to use violence when he was unhappy with her behaviour. In addition, married women were afraid of getting divorced or seeing their husband marry another wife and stop caring for them and their children. Due to

[885] Schönberg, *Der Islam wie ich ihn sah*, 25-30; Hamilton, *'I know their sorrows...',* 7-14;and Zwemer, *Der Islam,* 13-4.
[886] Blaikie, "What Islam Does for Boys and Girls," 19. The missionary representations of Islam, the central figures of Muslim faith and the religious practice of Muslim are very judgmental. The missionary discourses on Islam can be considered as part of the orientalist discourse, since the missionaries representation was similar to those of the orientalist and usually only allowed a very narrow set of statements to be expressed. See Said, *Orientalism,* 58-73; Smith, "Christian Missionary Views of Islam in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," 357-73; and Boulos, *Wahrnehmung von Juden und Arabern durch die Karmelmission in Palästina 1908-1939,* 55-70.
[887] Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 4-5.

such circumstances, most women are described as becoming apathetic and fatalistic. Therefore they could not keep up with their household. Their children were unwashed, their houses dirty and messy. Furthermore, because of their lack of education they did not know the value of cleanliness and hygiene and could not properly bring up healthy and well mannered children.[888] If the husband respected his wife, then the missionaries regarded the wives as being able to look after their house properly. This relation is apparent in the former example of the clean house of the friendly Nubian.[889]

Teaching Hygiene, Health and Motherhood

A missionary booklet written in Egyptian Arabic dialect, providing advice to Egyptian mothers on how to nurse their babies and raise their children, ends with the following sentences:

"نطلب من كل واحده [sic] فهمت الدرس دول انها تمشي عليهم في بيتها علشان الرك على ترتيب الام اكتر من دوا[ء] الحكيم وسلوكها هيِّ بيخلّي اخلاق اولادها طيبين. ونطلب منها كمان انها تعلّم جيرانها وقراييها كل اللي فهمته من الدروس لحد ما تنتشر العوايد الكويسين لخير الاولاد في كل بر مصر."[890]

The booklet propagates certain concepts of domestic and bodily cleanliness and contains advice as well as explanations concerning hygiene, causes of diseases and proper baby care. The missionaries were convinced that a well educated mother was best for her children's health and was able to provide them with a good upbringing. They therefore aimed to promote the basics of health and a proper sense of cleanliness, by various means. Women, who had learned these concepts and practices, by reading such a booklet for instance, were asked to teach others. Hence the missionaries hoped the effect of their educational efforts would be multiplied by the teaching of these informed women, and subsequently the whole country would be increasingly provided with what they considered as crucial knowledge for the entire Egyptian population.[891] In the following passage I will study the missionaries' means to promote cleanliness concepts, hygienic practices and correct health knowledge. Concepts, values and ideals that are associated with the transmitted concepts and practices, will be explored.

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[888] King, "The Second Generation," 71-4; Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 34-5; Götte, "Blick in das Leben der Töchter des Halbmondes," 1-12; and Götte, "Arbeit unter Frauen," 9-10.

[889] The friendly Nubian is not the only example of the link between a well-led household and the good treatment of the wife. Elisabeth Enderlin also writes about a man who is proud of his wife. Their house is also described as extraordinarily clean. See Enderlin, "Unsere nächsten Nachbarinnen in Akka," 5-7.

[890] „We ask everyone who understood these lessons to follow them in her own house, because on the education of the mother more responsibility is saddled than on the drugs of the doctor, and the mother's conduct breeds good manners into her children. And we also ask her to teach her neighbours and relatives everything what she had understood from these lessons, until the good practices are spread for the benefit of all children in the whole of Egypt." See Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 106.

[891] On the importance of the women's press for the dissemination of ideas in Egypt and on the readers, see Baron, "Readers and the Women's Press in Egypt".

Hygienic measures were part of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council's preventative medicine program to reduce child mortality and advance health conditions.[892] Both, the Egypt General Mission and the Sudan-Pionier Mission, were members of the Inter-Mission Council and they regarded it as their duty to impart ideas of cleanliness to the Egyptians. To reach the population, they used different media. To warn and educate the illiterate, missionary publishers such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge printed posters on different topics.[893] For example, the Sudan-Pionier Mission displayed a poster in their clinic in Darau near Aswan. By using coloured pictures the missionaries tried to warn the illiterate patients in the waiting room from the danger of flies. In both Arabic and English "Flies breed in dirt, refuse and dust" was written and, on the other side, "Flies bring disease, blindness, and death." In the bottom right picture a funeral was shown with grieving people. With this poster the missionaries aimed at ameliorating the health condition of their target population. An indigenous employee explained the pictures to the waiting patients, who were reported to have been very interested in further information.[894]

Oral history interviews with former pupils of missionary schools reveal that hygienic education was an important issue, as already discussed in the third chapter. All interviewees who attended an Egypt General Mission school or the English Mission College pointed out that orderliness and cleanliness were systematically checked in their primary schools.[895] When the students grew older, the examination by the teachers was less rigid for the children were expected to have internalised the sense for cleanliness, but they still were rebuked if, for instance, their uniform was dirty. In the girls' school in Suez, pupils had to stand in a queue every morning to have their hands, fingernails, and hair checked. This practice was common from the beginning of the Egypt General Mission's educational work, and not only in the 1930s to 1950s when the interviewees went to school. This report from 1903 provides an insight in this practice:

"Our work begins at 8.15 a.m., when one of the two teachers assembles the children in the court, sees that all hands and faces have been properly washed, dresses clean, and hairs combed, and that every girl possesses a pocket handkerchief of some description. All delinquents in any one of these matters are sent home, and a girl after having been returned five or six times does not usually require being spoken to again. She has learned by then, and her

[892] Cutting and Saad, "Teaching Preventive Medicine, especially in Relation to Egyptian Villages," 24-7.
[893] In the 1931 catalogue of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," posters with titles like "The Wise Mother/The Foolish Mother" or "The Clean House/The Dirty House" can be found. See Pictures obtainable from the S.P.C.K. Cairo, January 1940, AEDE, Box 43c, Brown File.
[894] Götte, "Vom Missionsfeld," 8-10. For more about the methods to teach the ultra-poor population, see Lunde, "Building Bonny Babies: Missionary Welfare Work in Cairo," 83-106. In her paper she published a picture of the mentioned poster.
[895] Sihām Buṭrus, interview by author, tape recording, Suez, 29. 4. 2009 (transcript l. 395).

mother has learned also, that they have to choose between cleanliness, tidiness, and school, or dirt and no school (…)."[896]

Teaching these hygienic practices was part of discipline.[897] The regular control of the child's body and punishment of the "delinquents" demonstrated that a connection between hygienic practices and social discipline should be made.[898] Liggins does not mention why cleanliness is so important: schoolgirls are supposed to be washed and dressed in clean clothing because that is how these children are supposed to be. Here, cleanliness is above all a matter of obedience, not of health. By sending the children back to their mothers, the school's disciplinary power also extended to the pupil's home. The mothers had to wash their offspring and send them to school in clean clothes if they wanted their sons and daughters to be educated. Thereby not only the missionaries' conceptions of cleanliness were imposed. The teachers implicitly communicated that bodily hygiene was an important value and it was part of the mother's duty to care accordingly for her children. Miss King, a missionary, described a case where the cleanliness training at boarding school was so successful that a boy "when he settled down at home he knocked up his mother every morning at six o'clock to get the water ready for his bath, as he could not go to work without it!"[899]

However, the impartment of cleanliness conceptions and hygienic practices was not limited to a behaviourist training, which would only impart certain modes of conduct and values through punishment and reward. The missionary teachers chose further, more playful methods to make moral, health and hygienic issues comprehensible for children, as Sāmiya Ḥabīb describes in this interview:

سامية حبيب: بس برضوا كان ممكن بقصص برضوا. (pause) وممكن باناشيد، انا فاكرة فيه اناشيد كان فيها كلام كدة برضوا، يقولنا علي حاجات كويسة

المحاور: الاناشيد ده ايه ؟

سامية حبيب: الاناشيد يعني زي الاناشيد اللي في العربي، النشيد يقول مثلا، انا احب النظافة، النظافة جميلة، مبتخليش الامراض تيجي عندي وكلام زي كدة.[900]

The teachers told stories in order to impart values and morality.[901] Furthermore the pupils learned songs addressing topics of health, personal hygiene and morality. Notably, the stu-

[896] Liggins, "The Girls' School Alexandria," 36.
[897] Foucault, *Überwachen und Strafen,* 201-9.
[898] Frey, *Der reinliche Bürger,* 234-85.
[899] King, *A School Story,* 7.
[900] „ *Sāmiya Ḥabīb*: But it was also possible [that they taught us] with stories. (pause) We also learned with songas, I remember that we also had songs on these topics and teaching us about good things. *Interviewer*: What kind of songs? *Sāmiya Ḥabīb*: Songs, I mean songs as for instance the songs in the Arabic lessons, the song says for example: 'I love cleanliness; cleanliness is wonderful, it keeps away from me the diseases' and similar things." See Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 089-091).
[901] Stories on morality, often associated with religious messages, can also be found in the Egypt General Mission periodical for Egyptian women and their children *Miṣbāḥ al-Ḥayāt*. See for example "Anfusunā wa-al-ākharīn," 33-6 (a story combined with a reflection); and "Fiʿl al-Khayir," 140-2 (a parable with a reflection).

dents experienced these three topics as being closely related to each other and considered them as values. Therefore, Sāmiya Ḥabīb answered the interview question, on how moral values were imparted, with an example of a song addressing the importance of cleanliness for good health. The pupils learnt some of these songs by heart, although the missionaries often criticised the prevalence of these learning methods in Egyptian government schools.[902] Nevertheless, learning by heart in combination of songs must have been regarded as appropriated method to promote the internalisation of values.

Unlike the British, German missionaries did not have boarding schools in addition to day schools. In certain cases the women of the Sudan-Pionier Mission were able to accommodate a few girls in their homes. Even though only a small number could be reached by this method, the missionaries hoped to make an important impression on the lives of these girls and probably win them as female aides in the women's mission.[903] Besides ordinary school subjects they taught the girls the "profession of a housewife",[904] i.e. to be able to patch clothes, cook, do needlework, and keep the house orderly and clean. The impartment of hygienic customs - and Götte writes that some girls were hard to convince that daily washing was necessary- was as much a part of the female missionaries' duty as talking about religious topics.[905]

Cleanliness also played a crucial role in the training of nursery auxiliaries in the hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission. In medical work, hygiene was considered being essential in preventing the transmission of diseases within the hospital.[906] Usually teenage girls or young women were hired and trained to work as nursery auxiliaries. This training consisted not only of the formation of medical and nursery skills, but also of education in household matters, such as cleaning, patching clothes and blankets, and cooking.[907] Although the missionaries often complained that new nursery auxiliaries in particular lacked the motivation to learn such skills and did not understand the value of these matters, the former nursery auxiliary Sitt Shādiya highly valued this training:

المحاور: بالنسبة لك ايه أهم حاجة اللى انتي اتعلمتي هناك في المستشفى؟

[902] Sāmiya Ḥabīb, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 29. 5. 2009 (transcript l. 092-093). A small sample of such lyrics (and some have even a slight Egyptian nationalist undertone) can be found in an article in the Egypt General Mission journal *Miṣbāḥ al-Ḥayāt*. See "Nisāʾ al-Ghad," 155-7.
[903] Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 34-5.
[904] Götte, *Offene Türen zu verschlossenen Harims,* 32.
[905] Götte, *Offene Türen zu verschlossenen Harims,* 33-4.
[906] Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder,* 57-60.
[907] Maja Meier, interview by author, tape recording, Oberhofen am Thunersee 13.10.2008 (transcript l. 025); Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 072-074); and Gerhardt, "Etwas von unseren eingeborenen Pflegerinnen," 27.

ست شادية: اتعلمت كل حاجة كويسة لجهة بيتي، من جهة البيت. يعني اهم حاجة للست هي البيت. يعني احنا دلوقتي بعد ما خلصنا، أنا هاطلع أروح فين؟ ما برحش مطرح، بس من المهم بيتي.[908]

Sitt Shādiya considers the skills relevant for the household to be particularly important for her life and for her role as a woman. Hence the missionaries were not only imparting a set of skills relevant to the household, but these skills were closely related to the female ideal of a good housewife. And apparently, according to missionary reports, not only Sitt Shādiya, but most of the nursery auxiliaries, eventually understood the value of the imparted domestic virtues. As a result, they were well prepared to become good housewives and mothers, when they got married and had to leave the hospital.[909]

Training the girls at the missionaries' homes or in the hospital was part of the work among women; visiting women and teaching girls needlework were other aspects of this mission priority.[910] Cleanliness and orderliness were also addressed during home visits. For example, one mother gave an Egyptian Bible Woman of the Sudan-Pionier Mission permission to urge her daughters to make efforts for a better household.[911] For the missionaries teaching the girls as well as visiting the women were, on the one hand, means to tell stories from the Bible and share their own faith, and on the other hand, to empower Egyptian women. In their opinion, Egyptian husbands did not respect their wives, and most of the women also expressed a lack of self-respect when exclaiming (as was their wont): "Oh, we women, we are like the cattle, we do not know anything" (*Oh, wir Frauen, wir sind doch wie das Vieh, wir wissen und können nichts*).[912] By developing Egyptian women's skills to lead (what the missionaries regarded as) a good household and by improving their knowledge, the missionaries tried to empower the women and give them respect.[913]

The missionaries aimed not only to teach the girls and women household skills and an awareness for the importance of cleanliness, but they also wanted to contribute to preventative

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[908] „*Interviewer*: For you, what was the most important thing you learned in the hospital? *Sitt Shādiya*: I learned many good things for the appearance of my house, regarding to the house. I mean, the most important thing for the women is the house. I mean, after we finish now, where will I go? I am not going to a dump, but most importantly to my house." See Sitt Shādiya, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 20.03.2009 (transcript l. 294-295).

[909] Unruh, "Jahresbericht 1951/52," 1-2; and Herzfeld, Boulis, and Gerhardt, "Aus Briefen unserer Assuaner Geschwister," 6-7.

[910] On visiting women at their homes, see Hahn, Christine: Tagebuch 1937-1939. EMO Archives, entries 27.9. – 12. 11.1937 and 11.8. – 7.9. 1938; Massbach and Pohl, "Vom Missionsfeld," 11-2; and Götte, *Offene Türen zu verschlossenen Harims,* 34-6.

[911] Götte, *Lebensbilder zweier ägyptischer Frauen,* 31-2. Bible Women evangelised women by making house visits door to door, see Sharkey, "Missionary Legacies," 66.

[912] Götte, *Lebensbilder zweier ägyptischer Frauen,* 6. In other passages women designate themselves as ignorant animals. see Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermission,* 39. According to the missionaries, some Egyptian men also labelled their women as cattle. See, Herzfeld, *Missionsärztin in Nubien,* 5.

[913] Ziemendorff, "Das neue Missionshaus in Edfu," 48; and Götte, *Lebensbilder zweier ägyptischer Frauen,* 6 and 22-3.

health care and to reduce infant mortality. In particular, many mothers from poor urban neighbourhoods and in rural areas desperately searched for help for their sick children in missionary medical institutions, often after unsuccessfully practicing alternative healing rituals.[914] In order to reach these illiterate girls and women, and to teach them disease prevention, institutions such as welfare centres and women's and girls' clubs were established. The Church Mission Society's were pioneers among the Protestant missionaries in establishing their welfare centre in Bulaq in the early 1920s, but other missionary societies, and among them also the Egypt General Mission, opened similar institutions.[915] Miss Liesching, who was in charge of the welfare centre and girls' club in Bulaq, provided insights into the work of her organisation in her Egypt Inter-Mission Council conference paper:

„So the daily two hours school [mainly for street children] is called the Girls' Club, originated to train up the future mothers and has become in its turn the recruiting ground of the Welfare. The club might well be called a minor Welfare centre for regular courses are given, practical as well as theoretical, in Hygiene, i.e., personal cleanliness, care of the home, care of the baby, sick nursing and mother craft."[916]

Mothers and future mothers were taught the importance of bathing their children, how to carry out eye washing (because of the flies), and how to cook nutritious food and practice sanitation.[917] Furthermore, stories were told and plays performed, which addressed topics such as adequate nutrition, baby- and childcare, hygiene, and normative conceptions of motherhood. The ideal of good motherhood was exemplified in a colloquial play called „The wise mother and the foolish mother".[918] The missionaries therefore intended not only to train good housewives, but also wise mothers.

The missionaries considered the training of mothers, particularly those of the poorer classes, as essential. It was regarded as important means to fight ignorance and "superstition" among these people. The newly acquired concepts and practices were intended to replace "superstition", and to form competent mothers. The increased survival rate of infants and their better health were regarded as a proof for the superiority of the missionaries' health concepts and practices. They hoped that such successes would promote the mothers' appropriation of the imparted health and hygiene concepts.[919] They considered successful treatments to be a con-

[914] Perkins, "A Key to Homes and Hearts," 41.
[915] The missionaries were not the first who were involved in organised care for mothers and their babies. Lady Cromer founded a dispensary for children in a very poor district of Cairo 1907, and women from the Egyptian elite also were establishing similar institutions. See Lunde, "Building Bonny Babies," 88-9. The Egypt General Mission built their welfare centre within their hospital compound in Shebin el-Kanater in the late 1940s. See Harwood, "These little ones… in My Name," 86.
[916] Philips, "Description of some new Methods of Approach to Moslems and their Appraisement," 18.
[917] Lunde, "Building Bonny Babies," 90-8.
[918] Liesching, "The Place of Baby Welfare Centres in Missionary Work To-Day," 47.
[919] Philips, "Description of some new Methods of Approach to Moslems and their Appraisement," 20-1.

tribution to the building of trust, since "once they saw that the sore eyes and the bad ears yielded to daily treatments, superstition died a natural death and the visits became solicited boons."[920]

Arguments for Health and Hygiene

Health and hygiene were not only taught in practical work by the missionaries, nor did they only aim to exclusively reach poor and illiterate women. The Nile Mission Press and other missionary publishers printed booklets with explanations on sicknesses, advices for health and good hygiene. In the Arabic journal of the Egypt General Mission, *Bashāʾir al-salām*, more articles on the importance of cleanliness can be found. It is noteworthy that only in the women's section of the journal, called *Miṣbāḥ al-Ḥayāt,* health and hygienic topics are discussed.[921] Also, the examined Arabic booklets were mainly written for women, usually using a simplified language and sometimes in the Egyptian dialect. The style was quite normative: rules are followed by more rules and explanations. Here, I will explore how, in these wirtings, missionaries imparted the importance of hygiene. Which topics and values were related to cleanliness and health? How were the arguments shaped?

Health was an important topic to promote cleanliness concepts and hygienic practices. As already mentioned, the missionaries regarded cleanliness as an effective means to fight diseases. In the booklets, the causes of some diseases common in Egypt, as well as why dirt endangered the health, are explained. Willcocks described how worm infections could occur from walking barefoot in the mud and the risk of bilharzia infection if food was not properly washed.[922] Scott-Moncrieff explained that dangerous bacteria lived in the dirt and that cleanliness, sunlight, and fresh air were suitable means to fight microbes.[923] The missionaries, who mostly shared Scott-Moncrieff's conception on the causes of diseases, also advised their readers to keep their bodies clean and brush their teeth to prevent diseases.[924]

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[920] Liesching, "The Place of Baby Welfare Centres in Missionary Work To-Day," 45-6. For the building of trust, in particular in very poor urban areas in Cairo, see also Lunde, "Building Bonny Babies," 95-7.
[921] The women's press in Egypt had its beginning in the late nineteenth century. On the production and contents of women's press in Egypt, see Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt.* Not all journals considered as "woman's press" are actually addressing women. Some journals were edited for a predominantly male readership, but were concerned about the "condition of women" in Egypt. See Booth, Marilyn. "Woman in Islam: Men and the 'Women's Press' in Turn-of-the-20th-Century Egypt," 171-6.
[922] Willcocks, *Al-Akl wa-al-īmān*, 91 and 102.
[923] Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 60.
[924] *ʿAsharat umūr*, 4; "Al-ʿInāya bi-al-isnān," 20-2; and Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 7-9 and 60.

Although soap and water were very important in the propagated hygienic practices, the causes of diseases were not always explained as occurring through microorganisms, as we read in William Willcocks booklet with the title *Al-Akl wa-al-īmān* ("Food and Faith"):

"الجلد فيه خروم صغيّرين يطلع منهم العرق والعرق دا تاخد السم اللي في جسمك ويطلعه برّا. وعلشان كدة لازم تغسل جسمك كل يوم علشان الخروم يستنوا مفتوحين والعرق يطلع. ولكن ان كنت ما تغسلش جسمك ينسدوا الخروم والعرق دا بدل ما كان يطلع من الجلد هُوَّ لازم يطلع من الفشتين وعلشان كدة يجوا برد وكحه وربو. واعظم جهل تغفيل ان الواحد يوفّر **صابون** ويصرف فلوسه على **الدخان**."[925]

Willcocks refers to an older concept of sickness in his highlighting of the importance of clean skin. He explains that the pores must be kept clean because dirt prevents poison from leaving the body, and thus various sicknesses like flu and asthma may be promoted.[926] Willcocks closes his explanation on the causal connection between the dirty skin and certain diseases, with a normative statement: People who would rather spend money on smoking rather than for soap were ignorant and stupid. The choice of words implies that the author would be outraged if someone, despite having been educated, would prefer to neglect his health in favour of a (vicious) enjoyment. Hence within this context, health and hygiene receive a moral tinge.

Similarly, as reported in the German and English writings, and also in Arabic sources, preventive medicine and hygiene were regarded as every mother's and housewife's duty. The missionaries explained, in their Arabic writings, the importance of regularly bathing a baby and also that water was not dangerous but beneficial to the child.[927] The "wise mother" washed her child's hair at least once a week to prevent them from getting lice; she knew about the importance of cleanliness to prevent eye-diseases; and she did not let her children play in the dirt of the street because that might harm their health.[928] The missionaries link hygienic practices and their benefits for the health of children very closely to the wisdom and intelligence of a mother:

"كلكم شفتم القطط ازاي الام تلحس جلد اولادها علشان تنضفهم. ان كانت القطة اللي ما تفهمش حاجة تهتم باولادها الاهتمام داقد ايه يكون واجب على الأم اللي هيَّ اعقل من القطة انها تهتم بنضافة اولادها اكتر؟"[929]

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[925] "There are small holes in the skin where sweat transpires. Sweat absorbs the poisons of your body and removes it. This is the reason why you should wash your body everyday, in order to keep the holes open and to let the sweat transpire. However, if you do not wash your body, the holes get congested. Because the sweat cannot transpire through the skin, the air has to come out of the lungs, and that is why you catch a cold, and is causes cough and asthma. And it is the greatest ignorance and stultification, if someone saves soap, but spends his money for smoking." See Willcocks, *Al-Akl wa-al-īmān*, 5-6. Emphasis in the original.

[926] Willcocks implicitly draws from the conception of "flux et reflux" that was developed during the Enlightenment period, but became particularly popular during the second half of the nineteenth century. According to the conception of "flux et reflux", the pores had to be kept clean in order to maintain the skin respiration and the excretion of sweat. These processes were considered as important to cleanse the blood. See Sarasin, *Reizbare Maschinen,* 279-85.

[927] Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 6-7.

[928] "Bāb tadbīr al-manzil," 39; and Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 70-3.

[929] "You all saw how mother cats lick the skin of their offspring to clean them. If the cat who does not understand anything is concerned with its offspring, how much more is this concern a duty for every mother who is

Washing and keeping clean are thus not only a matter of reason but also of natural motherly care. Even animals clean and care for their offspring and a human mother should be even more concerned with the neatness and health of her children. Thus the missionaries declared loving care as part of a mother's nature. The implicit normative statement they are making is that a mother who is not concerned for the cleanliness and thus for the health of her child cannot be considered a real mother. Hence many articles in the Egypt General Mission's journal *Miṣbāḥ al-Ḥayāt* are concerned with children's health and proffer suggestions for baby care.[930] Assuming that mothers cared deeply for the health of her children, but often lacked knowledge in their writings, the missionaries provided basic rules for baby care. Furthermore, they explained causes for diarrhoea in children and recommend treatments. They also gave advice on adequate food for teething infants, and elucidated what the crying of baby could mean and what should be done.[931]

Another normative role model for the woman within the domestic sphere besides "the wise mother" (*al-Umm al-ḥakīma*) is that of the "housewife" (*rabbat al-dār*).[932] The importance of house cleaning is also pointed out in the missionaries' writings, and it is closely linked with health. A messy and dirty house is the ideal environment for insects, flies, mice and rats. These pests are described not only as annoying, but also as a cause for many sicknesses.[933]

But health was not the only topic related to cleanliness:

"كلنا نعرف الفرق بين البيت المرتب المنظّم والبيت الوسخ الملخبط ونعرف ان البيت المرتب حلو لكن البيت الملخبط ما حدش يحبه. يا ترى انت فكّرت في ترتيب الدنيا والنظام اللي ربنا نظم به الكون؟"[934]

As in the reports and booklets of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, in Arabic missionary sources orderliness is also closely linked to cleanliness.[935] A tidy house is a clean house, and nobody likes a dirty and messy house. In the household, cleanliness and orderliness are regarded as mutually dependent. But order is not a value limited to housework in the missionaries' sources: it was regarded as an especially important issue in child care. Bathing, feeding, sleep-

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more reasonable than a cat to care even much more for the cleanliness of her children?" See Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 9.

930 "Naṣīḥa lil-ummahāt," 36-8; "Al-ʿināya bi-al-aṭfāl", 36-7; "Kayfa yuʿṭā al-ṭifl zujājat al-riḍāʿa," 111-2; and "Al-ṭifl: al-mashrūbāt al-ṣiḥḥīya wa-ghayr al-ṣiḥḥīya," 116-7.

931 "Bāb tadbīr al-manzil: Ṭaʿām al-ṭifl, al-tasnīn," 57-8; ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, "Al-ʿināya bi-al-ṭifl wa-al-umm," 86-9; "Al-ʿInāya bi-al-ṭifl: Baʿḍ asbāb al-ishāl wa-ṭarīqat ʿilājhā," 103-4; and "Al-ʿInāya bi-al-ṭifl: Baʿḍ asbāb al-ishāl wa-ṭarīqat ʿilājhā," 86-8.

932 "Bāb tadbīr al-manzil," 37. *Rabbat al-dār* was also a normative concept in the educated Egyptian elite in the first decades of the twentieth century. See Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt*, 155-8.

933 Concerning flies, mice, and rats, see *ʿAsharat umūr*, 4-6 and 18; Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 61; and for the fight against insects; see "Bāb tadbīr al-manzil," 37-39.

934 "We all know the difference between a well ordered house and a dirty disordered one, and we know that the tidy house is beautiful, but nobody likes the messy one. Do you see a concept in the order of the world, and in the organisation with which God organised the universe?" See Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 24.

935 "Bāb tadbīr al-manzil," 38.

ing, and even going to the toilet should follow a certain timeline. Mothers were advised to listen to the prayer call if they did not have a clock.[936] Constancy in keeping certain times and in carrying out jobs in a specific manner was a characteristic of the missionaries' advice on health, household, and child care. Certain authors listed their pieces of advice to make them more easily remembered.[937] In the passage just quoted, another reason was given as to why orderliness is important: the order of God's creation. Everything has its place and time in the universe, everything is well ordered. Thus as human beings, we too should keep good order in our daily life and work.

Based on the analysed sources, I conclude that during the whole first half of the 20th century teaching hygiene was an essential part of the missionaries' agenda. They tried to impart their conceptions of cleanliness and health by using different methods in various fields of activity. Cleanliness was regarded as an effective means to improve the health conditions of the population, to reduce child mortality, to get in touch with people and spread religious concepts. The missionaries mainly matched health education and cleanliness to the domestic sphere, which was regarded as the female sphere. In this context certain norms and ideals were closely connected with cleanliness conceptions. Orderliness, punctuality, and discipline were important for proper housekeeping. Therefore hygienic education had a disciplinary function in schools also (affecting mother and child). By teaching girls cooking, cleaning, and sewing, they were trained to become good housewives.

Also, in the examined Arabic booklet and journals, keeping time and following a certain order in matters of household, hygiene, and child care were highlighted as important. Thus I assume that these booklets intended to form certain dispositions in domestic issues, a habitus of a good and responsible housewife.[938] Furthermore, a competent mother should be educated by the impartment of knowledge and practices in the field of baby care, hygiene, preparation of healthy food, as well as by explaining common disease and the appropriate treatments. The "wise mother" had overcome ignorance and superstitious practices that harmed her offspring, and was able to raise well behaved and healthy children.[939]

In the missionary discourse, cleanliness was almost always connected with positive values and with concepts that were regarded as favourable. Dirt, in contrast, appeared as something

[936] Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 24-5.
[937] "Riʿāyat al-ṭifl," 22-3; and the whole booklet *ʿAsharat umūr.*
[938] Islamic reformers such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh or Qāsim Amīn criticised the traditional Muslim family and the coercive relations between husbands and their wives in a similar manner as the missionaries. They also claimed that better girls' education would help women provide a clean and healthy home as well as a moral environment for their children. See Haj, *Reconfiguring Islamic Tradition*, 153-161.
[939] On the mother's responsibility for the upbringing and health of her children, even before the child was born, see, and "Al-Wilāda al-ṣiḥḥiyya li-kulli ṭifl," 35-8; and "Al-Umm," 166-7.

annoying or even dangerous to health and was linked to ignorance, superstition, poverty, and unfair and chaotic family backgrounds. Following the self-conception of the missionaries, religion was considered most crucial in health work also. How and to which extent were cleanliness and hygiene linked to religious concepts in the missionaries' argument? Did the missionaries refer to religious norms to establish hygienic practices?

The sources I examined contained hardly any arguments for cleanliness and hygienic practices that are based on religious norms. An exception is Scott-Moncrieff's reference to faith in the context of baby-bathing in her book *Al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma*:

"النعمه التالته هيّ الميّه ـ للنضافه والشرب ـ الميّه هيّ تقريباً ارخص حاجه و لكن هيّ كمان اغلى حاجه بالنسبه لفوايدها. والأم العاقله لازم تحمّي ابنها كل يوم صيف و شتا و تغير له هدومه و تغسلهم ـ الصابون رخيص و الميّه أرخص و النضافة من الايمان و الاتكال على الله."[940]

Scott-Moncrieff tries to impart a hygienic practice that she considers to be beneficial for baby care. She does not mention health when giving reasons for daily baby-baths and clothes changing. She refers rather to a feminine ideal (*al-umm al-ʿāqila*, "the clever mother"), financial aspects (*al-ṣābūn rakhīṣ wa-al-mayya arkhaṣ*, "soap is cheap and water is cheaper") and eventually to faith: *al-niḍāfa min al-īmān wa-al-ittikāl ʿalā llāh* ("cleanliness comes from faith and the trust is in God") is an idiom which does not have its source in a Christian context but was widely believed to have its origin in a ḥadīth.[941] Scott-Moncrieff did not mind the Islamic origin of this saying (if she knew about it at all), but she utilises this high estimation of cleanliness as an argument to propagate hygienic habits that every wise mother should practice. With this mode of reasoning, the missionary tries to connect her hygienic concepts to statements from existing cleanliness-discourses.

In the sources examined, faith very rarely appears as part of an argument to impart hygienic customs, whereas cleanliness plays an important role in the evangelistic discourse. In Arabic as well as English booklets, dirt and cleanliness are metaphorically used to illustrate guilt and forgiveness.[942] In the English reports on missionary work, and also in the portrayal of conver-

[940] "The third blessing is the water - for cleanliness and drinking. Water is almost the cheapest thing and yet it is also the most precious, referring to its benefits. And the clever mother has to bath her child every day summer and winter, and she has to change his clothes and wash them. The soap is cheap and water is cheaper, and cleanliness comes from faith and the trust is in God." See Scott-Moncrieff, *al-Umm al-ḥakīma ṣiḥḥat awlādihā salīma,* 2.

[941] However, according to Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī, it is most likely not a saying from the Prophet Muḥmmad, but derrives from other sources of the Islamic tradition and conforms to Muslim religious values. See "Al-niḍāfa min al-īmān", al-Qaraḍāwī, accessed August 8, 2013, http://qaradawi.net/fatawaahkam/30/6303-2012-11-03-07-14-05.html.

[942] Willcocks, *Al-Akl wa-al-īmān*, 6; "Al-ʿataba naẓīfa wa-al-ẓāwiya qadhira," 77-80; and Channing, "The day's work at Abu Hammad and Tel-el-Kebeer," 96-7.

sations with the local population, the metaphor of the "clean heart" appears often and is linked to the statement that this inner cleanliness can be obtained only through Jesus.[943]

Talking about cleanliness and dirt was also apparently used to open discussions about moral behaviour and religious purity.[944] In the Arabic writings we also find that cleanliness and dirt evoke an ethical and spiritual meaning, for example, in short stories in *Miṣbāḥ al-Ḥayāt*.[945] In the booklet titled "Heavenly Lights on Everyday Life" (*Majmūʿat anwār samawiyya ʿalā al-ḥayāt al-yawmiyya*) parallels are drawn between the arduous work of washing clothes and the redemption through Christ. Like Christ's body was nailed to the cross, so too must the clothes be put on the wood of the washboard:

"اهو زي كدة كمان الرب يسوع حمل اثامنا على جسده الطاهر لمّا انصلب على خشبة الصليب من زمان طويل و اتحسبت خطايانا عليه و مش راح تتحسب علينا ابداً."[946]

The analogy between dirt and sin is as popular in the evangelistic work because dirt helps the missionaries illustrate the nature of sin: sin and dirt are things that should not exist, that should be removed. They are both in conflict with a certain order: dirt is against a hygienic and domestic order, sins are against divine commands. Dirt and sins were both regarded as something ugly and dangerous. While dirt could cause sicknesses and high child mortality, sin on the one hand harmed the guilty individual's soul because God's judgment would strike him, and on the other hand it caused injustice, neglect, and violence in the society.

The missionary discourse on cleanliness and health shared similarities in its discursive structure with the prevalent religious discourse in missionary circles. Both discourses allowed, to a certain extent, the integration of certain statements from other discourses, but also excluded certain concepts and associated practices. Statements highlighting the importance of cleanliness (however without prescribing a certain hygienic practice) could be integrated into the missionaries' arguments, even if they were derived from Muslim piety and discourses.

However, we cannot find any statements or even indications that any concepts or practices labelled by the missionaries as "superstition" were appropriated and adjusted in order to serve the health endeavours of the missionaries. In the missionary discourse "superstition" constantly bears negative connotations and is closely related with wrong beliefs and harmful practices. Wrong beliefs are articulated in a twofold sense: firstly, the "superstitious" relies on numi-

[943] "Egyptian Children do not know the Name of Jesus," 54; King, "Suez," 43-4; "Field Report, 1922", 29-30; and Webb, "Take this Child and Nurse it for Me," 58.
[944] Channing, "The day's work at Abu Hammad and Tel-el-Kebeer," 96-7.
[945] "Lil-banāt wa-al-awlād," 76-8; and "Al-ʿataba naẓīfa wa-al-ẓāwiya qadhira," 77-80.
[946] "It is the same as when the Lord Jesus carried our sins on his pure body, when he was crucified a long time ago. Our sins were charged on him and will never be charged on us." See *Majmūʿat anwār samawiyya ʿalā al-ḥayāt al-yawmiyya*, lesson 4.

nous forces and not on the Christian God, and secondly, amulets, shrines, spell etc., cannot appear as efficient means to cure diseases within the biomedical discourse. The medical practice of the missionaries however was shaped by this discourse.[947] Therefore, "superstition" had to be replaced, with the missionaries' cleanliness customs and concepts of health. In addition, they were convinced that if superstition was in fact "dying a natural death", then people could put their trust in the Christian God instead of in amulets and charms.[948]

3. 3. Traces of the Medical Mission

Being the son of an Egyptian employee, who worked for the Egypt General Mission hospital in Shebin el-Kanater, and living on the hospital compound, Najīb ʿAzīz was involved in the medical mission without being part of the work. His sympathetic but also critical assessment of the missionary work is based on his own experiences with the missionaries as well as on the accounts of his father, who worked later for the Sudan-Pionier Mission also. In everyday conversations in his family, incidents and encounters at work were surely discussed differently than for instance with senior persons at work or in missionary reports. Comparing the work of the Egypt General Mission with the endeavours of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, Najīb ʿAzīz comes to the following conclusion:

المحاور: كان في فرق في التعامل مع الانجليز والالمان؟
نجيب عزيز: اه، كان ضروري، ضروري. هم الالمان كانوا منظمين وجادين فيه الشغل. والانجليز برضوا كانوا بس الانجليز كان ليهم غلطات يعني، في الادارة. يعني الالمان المستشفى لسه لحاد انهارده موجودة. ده ليه لأن جابوا دكاترة مصريين وموظفين مصربين ويعتمدوا علي الشيخ "عزيز"، او فلان او فلان في العمل، فالمصري برضه يقدر يمشي، مع الحكومة. فالديكتاتورية مابتنفعش. الانجليز كانوا ديكتاتوريين في حكمهم او في ادارتهم في المستشفى.
المحاور: بعد كدة، ممكن نقول ان عند الالمان كان فيه تعاون اكتر مع الموظفين.
نجيب عزيز: لـ اكتر. الألمان فهموا التيار ماشي ازاي، تيار الحكومة ماشي ازاي. فلازم نحط انسان مصري مع ال (k) والمصريين في كفاءات . في كفاءات.[949]

[947] Fröhlich for instance often used to describe the diseases and sometimes uses medical jargon even in the reports for the missionary friends. See Fröhlich, "Vom Missionsfeld: Assuan, Ende April 1915," 34-5; and Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 44-5.
[948] Philips, "Description of some new Methods of Approach to Moslems and their Appraisement," 19.
[949] "*Interviewer*: Was there a difference between dealing with the British and with the Germans? *Najīb ʿAzīz*: Yes, it was imperative, imperative. The Germans were disciplined and honest in their work and so were the British. But the British had deficiencies, in particular in the administration. I mean, the hospital of the Germans still exists. And the reason for this is that they hired Egyptian doctors, and Egyptian employees, and they relied on Shaykh ʿAzīz and on this one or that one in their work. So the Egyptians were could manage for instance issues with the government. Despotism does not work. The British were authoritarian in their management and in their administration in the hospital. *Interviewer*: So, we could say that the Germans were more cooperative with the employees. *Najīb ʿAzīz*: They were. The Germans understood, how the trend was going, how the trend of the government was going. So it was necessary to involve an Egyptian in (k) and there are plenty of Egyptians. Plenty of Egyptians." See Najīb ʿAzīz, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 05.08.2009 (transcript l. 131-134).

Najīb ʿAzīz considers the hierarchical structure, namely the possibility for Egyptians to receive a voice in the decision-making processes, as the crucial difference between the Egypt General Mission hospital and the German Hospital in Aswan. He criticises the British missionaries' attitude towards the Egyptian employees and regards them as authoritarian. Although his father was allowed to participate in meetings of the hospital administration, formally he was not part of the management. Hence, he did not have a decisive voice despite his long employment in the institution. Therefore, as Najīb ʿAzīz notes with a sarcastic undertone, only decisions of British missionaries were crucial, since "when Mr. X was saying something, then it was like that, that's it, as if it was the word of God!"[950]

In contrast, his father was part of the hospital management for the Sudan-Pionier Mission from the beginning of his work there. Najīb ʿAzīz considers the German's openness to integrate Egyptians into higher positions of the hierarchy as a crucial for the fact that the hospital was not nationalised by the Egyptian government. By trusting the capabilities of the Egyptian employees, the German institution developed and adapted to the social trends.

Hierarchies, the adaption of organisational roles, trust, and personal relations, are all categories that are not only to be found in the interview with Najīb ʿAzīz. They are also crucial for the description of the interactions and structures of the Protestant medical missions under examination. In this subchapter the impact of the missionaries' health endeavours in Egypt is explored. Medical missionaries were not the first to introduce biomedicine and certain forms of hygiene that largely emerged in European societies. The establishment of a medical system following the European model was initiated by Muḥammad ʿAlī's reforms and the system in Egypt developed along these lines during the first half of the twentieth century. Therefore, it is difficult to identify traces of the entanglements between missionaries and Egyptian communities on a social level. Considering the examined sources, the results of the interactions and the functionalities of processes of cultural exchange can be found in institutional transformations and on personal levels. Still, I claim that certain discourses prevalent in the medical mission, and producing certain statements on cleanliness, hygiene, health, motherhood and "superstition", were also crucial in shaping certain influential concepts within Egyptian society. Furthermore, the discourses defining "superstition" and medical ("scientific") truth are implicitly affecting a topic that was crucial for the missionaries: religious faith.

[950] "Mr فلان قال كذا يعني Mr فلان دا يعني (k) خلاس ده الكلمة بتاعة ربنا (laughing)." See Najīb ʿAzīz, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 05.08.2009 (transcript l. 155).

Organisational Learning

In the chapter on the missionaries' educational work I have elaborated that the categories of "teaching" and "learning"-relations are of crucial importance for the understanding of cultural entanglements. On the level of personal encounters, "teaching" and "learning", as well as associated sub-categories, contribute to descriptions and explanations of appropriation, impartment and transformation of knowledge, and skills, norms, values and ideals. Similar processes can also be found within the context of the medical mission, as I discussed in the chapter on the medical work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission.[951] For instance, the emergence of the "spirit of serving" as a marker of Christian identity and as a communal ideal for missionaries and indigenous employees is a result of interactions and of learning processes. However, in this section I will focus on transformation processes that are traceable on an institutional level. Organisational structures, procedures and roles were transformed and adapted in a process that might be called *organisational learning*.[952] I will examine what the conditions of such an organisational learning were and how sustainable these processes proved to be.

How can we describe *organisational learning* and what are the preconditions and driving factors for this kind of learning within the context of a missionary institution? We must deduce from my analysis in the previous subchapter on the medical work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission that organisational structures, roles and procedures must feature flexibility. It was the missionaries' declared aim of their medical work; treating diseased people, easing their suffering, and in doing so, bearing witness for the Christian faith in words and actions. In order to reach this aim, the missionaries were willing to optimise procedures and they allowed the creation and transformation of organisational roles.[953]

Muslim Egyptians or Nubians officially worked as servants. However, in everyday work, they were highly esteemed in their organisational roles as translators, nursing auxiliaries, and teachers of local customs and beliefs. Furthermore, converted Muslims living with the missionaries independently sought out tasks within the medical mission. In their interaction with the missionaries they managed to establish their roles within the work that matched their skills

[951] On the similarities in teaching- and learning relations in the hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission and in the English Mission College, see Boulos, "Learning and Teaching in Missionary Institutions in Egypt (1900-1956)".
[952] „Organisational learning" is an established term in organisational behaviour and usually refers to an organisation's ability to change and adapt according to the challenges. In my interpretation of organisational learning I also consider insights of organisational behaviour, but in the first place my reflections are based on the findings of my previous chapters. See Swailes, "Organisational Culture," 255-61; and Levitt and March "Organizational Learning," 319-336.
[953] Similar to my findings, interpretations of organisational learning building on classical observation of behavioural studies also emphasise target oriented learning as well as the adoption of routines and procedures to new situations. See Levitt and March "Organizational Learning," 320.

and potentials, as well as the mission's purpose. Moreover, female missionaries played a crucial role in the work. While in their home countries the range of professional possibilities was limited and their position in church was restricted, in the field they were able to gain influential positions. Since missionary work among women was entirely dependent on the female staff, women started preaching, evangelising, organising meetings and leading worship.[954] Furthermore, the spatial structure of the hospital was adopted to conform to local social norms and demands (e.g. sex-segregation), and procedures were optimised in order to deal better with repeatedly occurring problems. Thus, the willingness to adapt preconceptions of how the organisation should operate, and the readiness to adapt existing structures and roles, were crucial preconditions for organisational learning.

The adaption of organisational structures, of procedures and roles, in order to comply better with the mission's objectives, was only possible, if the responsible missionaries (and indigenous employees in leading positions) became aware of problems. The hospital established by the Sudan-Pionier Mission for instance was organised along the lines of comparable institutions in Germany. However it had to operate within the social, cultural, economic, and medical circumstances of Upper Egypt, and therefore was facing challenges, where the usual modes of operation proved to be unsuitable and inefficient. Therefore, a further precondition of organisational learning consisted in the ability to observe developments in the social environment. The medical missionaries had to be sensitive to the particular needs and demands of the target population. Furthermore, it was crucial to demonstrate a readiness to analyse why certain problems occurred in interactions with the local communities and in specific situations. Hence, the missionaries had to self-critically evaluate their methods and concepts of their medical mission – a process that was often initiated by actual crises.

Observation of the social environment and analysis of the causes of problems seem to be self-evident procedures in organisations claiming to serve the community and to respond to its demands. In fact, in their reports, the missionaries repeatedly described specific attitudes of patients, widespread causes of diseases, and certain social obstacles to their work. This sensitivity regarding social conventions and environmental requirements -as well as regarding the difficulties in the work- was necessary, as the missionaries had to gain the trust of the local communities in order to reach them. Furthermore, missionaries of the Sudan-Pionier Mission also discussed challenges and problems at conferences of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council.

[954] Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home," 66-73; and Albrecht, "Frauen," 535-7.

In many cases the missionaries were able to identify and overcome obstacles smoothly (in such cases, they noted in the reports that they had to improvise).[955] In other cases it was a longer process leading to the adaptation of procedures and to the creation of suitable organisational roles (for example, in order to have enough qualified nursing staff). However, in certain respects the organisational learning faltered, particularly if the organisational hierarchy or certain symbolic points of reference were involved. One symbolic point of reference, for example, was the name of the mission. The official name of the Sudan-Pionier Mission from the late 1920s until in the 1950s was the "Evangelische Muhammedaner-Mission Wiesbaden". "Muhammedaner" was an ordinary designation for Muslims in German in that period. In Egypt however, it bore a rather pejorative connotation for most Muslims. The missionaries changed the name in 1954, a period of political upheaval in Egypt, and argued that the old name could no longer be used in the missionary field.[956] As this name change shows, it was usually pressure from the outside which led to organisational change. Impending restrictions from the government, or massive outrage in Egyptian society, acted as catalyst for change-especially if developments were faltering due to symbolic or hierarchical reasons.

Another contentious point in the case of organisational hierarchy was that indigenous employees did not get influential roles (at least formally) until much later in its history. After many of the missionary institutions were nationalised after 1956, Egyptian employees were allowed to participate in the official management of the stations. Najīb ʿAzīz's father, joining the German mission in the late 1950s, might have been the first Egyptian who had a say in the management together with the missionaries.[957] During both World Wars however, an indigenous evangelist was responsible for the remaining missionary activities and stations.[958] Nevertheless, as we read in a booklet written during the Second World War, the mission board was already searching for a German or Swiss couple who would be willing to serve as senior missionaries in Egypt. The board did not consider Rafla Efendi and his wife for this position (or

[955] Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 46.
[956] The new name was „Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten". See Bars, "Siehe zu, daß du einen guten Namen behältst!," 1; and Unruh, *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermission,* 41-2.
[957] On the list of attendees of the Aswan station staff meeting of 17 April 1956, no Egyptian names are listed. Probably the highly esteemed evangelist Rafla Efendi, whose funeral was then discussed at this meeting, used also to attend these meetings. If not, the Germans' inclusion of Egyptians on the management level was more a reaction to increasing pressure on the missionary work in general than deliberate consideration. See Protokoll der Stationssitzung in Assuan vom 17.5.56. EMO Archives, Orange Folder B I: Korrespondenz mit SENM (Blum/Merklin) 1947-1959.
[958] Samuel Ali Hussein was watching over the station during the First World War. Although he was generally acknowledge as great evangelist and indispensible missionary in Nubia, conflicts with Kupfernagel, the first missionary of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, disqualified him to the position as „einheimischer Missions-Gehülfe" (indigenous missionary aid). Although Kupfernagel had to leave the Sudan-Pionier Mission a few years later, Samuel Ali Hussein remained in this position. See Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt,* 223-7 and 276-82.

at least there are no references to such considerations), although he was managing the missionary work at that time.[959]

After the revolution of 1952, the missionary Hans Merklin reported on the anti-imperialist climate and strong nationalism among Egyptians. In his travel report for the home-base, he concluded that the missionaries had to respect these feelings and adapt their behaviour accordingly. As foreigners, they should humbly serve the people and encounter their indigenous colleagues without any condescension.[960] In 1956, a few months prior to the Suez Crisis, the missionaries considered what to do in the case of a war. If such an event happened, they decided to transfer their stations to the Evangelical church of Egypt and explicitly excluded the Egypt Inter-Mission Council.[961] Apparently, the more the German missionaries felt under pressure from a nationalistic government and from Egyptians striving to govern affairs in their own country, the more they were willing to delegate management competencies and higher organisational positions to their indigenous colleagues.

Organisational learning would prove persistent and was able to lead to changes on the discursive level, thereby impacting concepts and dealing with certain issues. If organisational transformation were discussed and considered to be a success, organisational learning tended to become more persistent.[962] However, some of the pragmatic adoptions, in particular many of the organisational roles shaped by interactions during the first decades of the German's medical mission, were later abandoned. After the Second World War, the standards for medical organisation had risen and the Egyptian government increasingly stipulated regulations concerning the training of staff.[963] Furthermore, the missionaries were able to hire more specialised staff as the level of education in Egypt generally rose. Therefore, doctors (foreign and Egyptian) increasingly focussed on their medical work and teaching faded into the background. In addition, the era of the Nubian servants ended (those who worked as nursery auxiliaries, cooks, cultural and linguistic translators, without sharing the missionaries' religious confession).

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[959] Unruh and Hussein, *Samuel Ali Hussein,* 71.
[960] Merklin, Hans: Vorläufiger Reisebericht. 1952, EMO Archives, Orange Folder B I: Korrespondenz mit SENM (Blum/Merklin) 1947-1959, pp. 2-3.
[961] Letter from Merklin, Hans, Grosshöchstetten, to Missionaries in Aswan and Darau, 08.05.1956, EMO Archives, Orange Folder B I: Korrespondenz mit SENM (Blum/Merklin) 1947-1959.
[962] Training of female nursing auxiliaries in the hospital of the Sudan-Pionier Mission was discussed by the missionaries in their reports for missionary friends. They considered it as successful strategy to solve staff problem and at the same time to have an impact on the life of these young women. Therefore this became an established part of the organisational structure within the hospital.
[963] Nursery auxiliaries had to obtain a certificate to perform certain tasks, such as making injections. See Sister Maryam, interview by author, tape recording, Aswan 23.01.2011 (transcript l. 277-281).

Further research is needed in order to understand exactly how organisational learning within the missionary work of the Sudan-Pionier Mission, and similar institutions, had an impact on the role of the women in the missionaries' home countries.[964] Female missionaries played a crucial role in Egypt; there they enjoyed more religious responsibilities than at home, and their professional roles within the institutions were considered as natural. Similarly, the missionaries propagated the emancipation of the Egyptian woman. However, there are no feminist claims regarding the women in Germany or Switzerland in the missionaries' writings. The importance of women and their capabilities in the professional sphere were nevertheless acknowledged, albeit not in a feminist rhetoric. The Sudan-Pionier Mission, for instance, paid men and women the same salaries in the late 1930s. Married couples received the double salary of singles, assuming the woman would continue her work in the mission field, or at least domestic work was attributed the same value as professional work.[965] The managing director of the Sudan-Pionier Mission's home-base in Wiesbaden, in charge from the 1930s until the 1950s, was a woman. Even if Margerete Unruh was referred to as "chief editor" (*Schriftleitung*) in the missionary journal, she was in fact responsible for the management of the missionary society.[966]

The adaptation of organisational structures, of procedures and roles, promoted particularly through the interactions within the social sphere, can be described as organisational learning. Organisational learning also proves to be a suitable category to better understand cultural entanglements, particularly for explaining processes not on the micro level but rather on an institutional level. The learning aspect of organisational learning compromises of a flexibility of the structure, a willingness to observe the environment, and the analysis of inefficient procedures; basically, learning from experience.[967] It enabled transformation of structures and the adaptation to new cultural contexts, taking into account (to a certain degree) its prevalent norms and concepts, as well as the social and medical environment. Therefore, organisational learning can be considered as a category describing a functionality of cultural exchange processes. Furthermore, the structures and procedures transformed within the institution as well

[964] Albrecht, "Frauen," 537-45. A study on the role of missionary women for their home congregations in the United States, see Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home," 59-81.
[965] Letter from Höpfner, Willy to Missionaries of the Sudan-Pionier Mission (copy to Margarete Unruh, Wiesbaden), Subject: New Personal Income Tax Code, n.d. [1939], EMO Archives, Red Folder: Korrespondenz 1937-1959: A I Feld Ägypten. Unfortunately the letter does not mention the salaries of indigenous employees. It is only noted that Rafla Efendi's salary exceeds five Egyptian Pound (single missionaries were earning seven Egyptian Pounds).
[966] For instance she carried a correspondence with the inspector of the Basler Mission, considering a closer cooperation between their societies. See Orange Folder: B I Korrespondenz mit SENM (Blum/Merklin) 1947-1959 in EMO Archives; and Red Folder: Korrespondenz 1937-1959 (A I Feld Ägypten, B I Schweiz, C I+II Basel, E I DEMR, M Schweiz, Div.) in EMO Archives.
[967] Levitt and March "Organizational Learning," 321-6.

as the newly created organisational roles are results of the interactions within the culturally entangled field. Eventually, the organisation is embedded in power relations, which have crucial impact on the flexibility of the organisational structure and can promote or hamper organisational learning.

Science, Faith and Superstition

In the journal *Risālat al-Nūr*, written for a rural population, we find a story addressing the belief in the envious eye. In this story Fatḥiyya has just given birth to a boy, and she and her husband are very happy. Afraid of the envious eye, she pretends to have given birth to a baby girl. Furthermore, she tries to protect her baby with other means, as for instance attaching onions and garlic at the door, since she believes: "Onion and garlic are a blessing. And she put on an amulet at ʿAbd al-Sayyid's chest, her newborn baby."[968] However, her neighbour finds out that the baby is a boy. When her son is about a year old, he falls ill. His mother believes the sickness is caused by the evil eye of her neighbour and gets angry. Fatḥiyya's husband takes his son to the doctor, who diagnoses measles, treats him accordingly and soon the baby is fine again. His wife however, remains mad with her neighbour, because she is convinced that the sickness was caused by the envious eye.

The story of Fatḥiyya, which will also take another turn, shows that Egyptian Evangelicals also struggled against conceptions and practices that were considered as "superstition" by the missionaries. Many Evangelicals remained involved in welfare work after the departure of the majority of the missionaries from Egypt. They aimed to show that the wearing of amulets did not prevent diseases and tried to elucidate the "actual" causes of diseases.[969] While the missionaries showed considerable pragmatism in adopting their institutional structures and were open for the creation of suitable organisational roles, both Egyptian and European Evangelicals were dismissive when it came to the popular preventative and healing practices in Egypt. There are no indications that missionaries appropriated concepts or practices of this kind of cure, not even as a strategic manner to facilitate the popularisation of the own health concepts.[970] No endeavours in understanding the popular healing practices, neither their medical

[968] البصل والتوم بركة. وعلّقت حجاب في صدر ʿعبد السيدʾ المولود الجديد." See "ʿAyn al-ḥasūd fīhā ʿūd," 12.

[969] A further article in *Risālat al-Nūr* highlights the inefficiency of amulets and further magical practices in curing diseases. See Ḥalīm, "ʿĀdāt," 7.

[970] Public health departments in the Middle East were in this respect often more pragmatic and provided midwives, who also practiced popular medicine or sold amulets, with a certain standard of biomedical training. See Dodd, *Methods of Promoting Rural Health in the Near East*, 5.

nor social function, can be found. How do we have to understand this damnation of popular healing concepts as "superstition" and the categorical refusal thereof?

In missionary hospitals and clinics, the human body and diseases were diagnosed and treated according to the findings of biomedicine. This medicine increasingly had gained a hegemonic status in the health systems of European and North American countries during the second half of the long nineteenth century. In their self-understanding, these practitioners and researchers were establishing a scientific medicine and were thereby predominantly following a materialistic concept of nature and of the human body. Sickness was considered a natural phenomenon and scientific medicine aimed to study it within laboratory conditions, and relied on methods and findings from established disciplines such as anatomy, physiology, chemistry, and biology.[971] In clinical practice and research, patients were not perceived as unique individuals anymore, but in order to verify medical hypotheses and the efficiency of treatments were classified into certain cases of sickness.[972] Concepts and statements referring to divine and spiritual causes of diseases could not be understood within the discursive framework of biomedicine. Practices of healing aiming to impact an immaterial world in order to cure diseases did not make sense in a worldview that fundamentally relied on methodologically elaborated empirical observations and a rationalised development of theories.[973]

It could be argued that the missionaries were so reluctant towards popular healing practices and concepts because they shared the scientific medicine's claim to exclusivity in explaining diseases. The missionaries' biomedical training forced them to consider other healing concepts as inefficient "superstition" that kept the people away from scientifically based treatments. In fact, the missionaries considered diseases natural phenomena, to be explained in the language of biomedicine, and treated accordingly. Only in specific cases, diseases were related to moral failings; namely when the patient suffered the consequences of alcoholism, or in cases of venereal diseases.[974] However, neither the envious eye nor evil spirits were considered causes of sickness.

Still, Protestant missionaries did not aim to make the Egyptian culture and society a purely scientific one in order to shape a modern and civilised country, as nationalist Egyptian doctors

[971] For the scientific framework of bacteriology that became crucial for the explanation of diseases in biomedicine, see Sarasin, Berger, Hänseler, and Spörri "Bakteriologie und Moderne," 15-29.
[972] Toellner, "Medizin und Pharmazie," 349-52.
[973] Porterfield, *Healing in the History of Christianity*, 144-6. However certain terms used in modern medicine, such as infection, derive from older conception that implied immaterial dimensions. These terms and their use were secularised in the development of medical science. See Temkin, "Eine historische Analyse des Infektionsbegriffs," 44-9 and 63-7.
[974] Fröhlich, "Ein Tag aus dem Leben eines Missionsarztes," 46.

did.[975] The missionaries' principal object was to propagate the Christian faith. They viewed medical mission as Christian duty since it served to ease suffering and to treat patients. Furthermore, they considered it as a possibility to bear witness to their faith, for every patient treated was a potential convert. In focusing on individual patients, medical mission differed from the colonial medicine that tended to focus on the society in general. Colonial governments usually tired to eliminate the causes of certain diseases with sweeping, often coercive, campaigns.[976] Furthermore, the missionaries considered "the atheistic atmosphere of most medical schools"[977] in Egypt as problematic for their former students, and knew that the relation between science and religion had to be discussed.

Missionaries believed in prayer. They prayed with their patients before performing surgeries, and they also did so together with the local congregation for medically difficult cases.[978] How can we understand that medical missionaries and doctors -trained in scientific medicine, condemning popular healing practices as "superstition", and explaining diseases within the biomedical framework that excludes immaterial influences- believed that prayers could have an effect on the process of healing?

In the clinical practice of scientific medicine, the causes of diseases are discussed within a biomedical framework and the treatments derive from a scientific research. However, and also for modern medical practice, statements referring to "hope", "healing", "trust", "death", "life", and "suffering" are indispensable in the everyday language in a hospital. Scientific medicine and clinical treatments practiced by missionaries could only create favourable conditions for the patient's recovery, but it did not provide direct cure. Certainties regarding a favourable recovery process and a complete cure do not exist, and medically complicated cases are particularly difficult to predict. Therefore, words such as "hope", "trust", "healing" etc. are used in the medical context: a vocabulary that is crucial too, in evangelistic and religious statements. Both the experiences of patients and their relatives, as well as the topics in evangelistic and religious discourses, encompass existential issues that are expressed using a similar vocabulary. Furthermore, scientific medicine does not provide the patient with help to deal with uncertainties in the recovery process.[979] Experiences of hope and despair, questions

[975] According to Abugideiri, Egyptian doctors played a crucial role in shaping a secular nationalist discourse. They used the authority of the scientific medical discourse in order to establish naturalised gender roles and stress the importance of republican motherhood for a modern Egypt. See Abugideiri, *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in Colonial Egypt*, 241-6.
[976] Hardiman, "Introduction," 6-7; and Porterfield, *Healing in the History of Christianity*, 149-50.
[977] Watson and Smith, "Egyptian Student Problem," 16.
[978] Fröhlich, "Vom Missionsfeld: Assuan, Ende April 1915," 34-5; Herzfeld, "Die Betten erzählen," 124-5; and Giesner, "Preaching to the Men," 13.
[979] Temkin, "Eine historische Analyse des Infektionsbegriffs," 65-7.

about the sense of a grave sickness and considerations on possible life changing consequences, are however crucial issues in religion.

The evangelistic discourse shares a further similarity with modern medicine apart from a certain range of the vocabulary: the claim to exclusivity. The Protestant missionaries considered the witness of their faith as a pressing duty, for they believed only a conscious conversion to Christianity would provide salvation. When Evangelicals prayed, when they put their hopes in a power not part of the empirical world, then only the Christian God could be addressed. The norms produced by the evangelistic discourse did not allow for placing faith in amulets, in the power of saints or in spirits.[980] In the story of Fatḥiyya and her fear of the envious eye, this exclusivity of the faith in God is also addressed:

"وفي ليلة ذهب فؤاد لكي يسمع واعظ القرية. ثم عاد الى بيته، و قال لزوجته: ‘إن الوعظة الليلة كانت مفيدة لي. قال الواعظ: يوجد حسد. لكن الحسد لا يضر المؤمنين بالله. الحجاب لا يفيد والبصل لا يعطي بركة. البركة هي في ايمان الناس بالله. يجب أن نؤمن بالله أو نؤمن بالحجاب والبصل.’ وقطع فؤاد الحجاب، وأنزل البصل والتوم من على الباب."[981]

The preacher of the village did not deny that envy could cause harm - most probably he considered envy as a moral threat that is harmful to relationships. He utilised, however, the widespread fear of envy in order to stress the importance of placing all faith in God, for only this faith would provide protection and salvation. The trust in amulets and charms should be replaced with faith in the Christian God and popular healing practices with biomedical treatments. In the story of Fatḥiyya and her sick baby son, her husband drew the consequences after being convinced by the sermon, and removed all the amulets and objects related with a numinous protection or healing from their house.

Thus, two discourses shaping the missionaries thinking and speaking on health and disease, on healing and cure, and on the material and immaterial world, established their firm rejection of popular healing concepts and practices. On the one hand, they diagnosed and treated patients according to western biomedicine, a discourse that produced a materialistic concept of the human body and that excluded those alternative explanations of diseases not framed in biological and pathological terms. On the other hand, the evangelistic discourse produced an exclusivist conception of the Christian faith. Trust in God was established as the only reli-

[980] Fröhlich, "Über die Erziehung der eingeborenen Gehilfen in der Mission," 10; Faust, "Volle Arbeit," 108; and Fröhlich, "Vom Missionsfeld: Assuan, Ende April 1915," 35-6.

[981] „And in the evening Fuʾād [Fatḥiyya's husband] went out to listen the preacher of the village. Later he came home and told his wife: ‘The sermon tonight was valuable for me. The preacher said: There is envy. But envy does not harm the believer in God. The amulet does not help and onions do not provide blessing. Blessing comes from the people's faith in God. We have to choose, either we believe in God or in the amulets and in onions.’ And he ripped off the amulet and he tore down the onions and the garlic from the door.“ See "ʿAyn al-ḥasūd fīhā ʿūd," 13.

giously legitimate belief in a numinous power, and also as possessing of the potential to heal and protect body and soul.

While missionaries and Egyptian leaders from the evangelical church firmly rejected popular healing concepts and practices, the rural population and their medical practitioners maintained a more pragmatic and less exclusive approach towards suffering, diseases and healing. The missionary doctor Elisabeth Herzfeld, for instance, was surprised when she was visiting a "Scheicha" (*shaykha* – a female healer living close to a Muslim graveyard) noting: "Sie erzählte gleich, daß ihre Verwandten in Krankheitsfällen von uns behandelt wären. Merkwürdig, denn sie will ja selbst mit Heilungskräften begabt sein!"[982] Popular healers, as well as many patients seeking help from the medical missionaries, apparently did not see a contradiction in trusting the practices of popular medicine as well as in the treatments of clinics and hospitals. In later decades, in the Nāṣir-era -when biomedical clinics and hospitals became widespread in rural areas of Egypt- popular healers and alternative healing practices did not disappear. According to the research of the medical anthropologist Soheir A. Morsy, located in a village in the Delta in the mid-seventies, alternative concepts of healing and sickness as well as their corresponding practices were still widespread. Morsy highlights that the villagers deliberately chose the preferred form of healing treatment. Rural practitioners of spiritual healing were consulted when the patient was thought to be suffering from a socially defined ill-health or from a disease caused by supernatural powers, while they sought out help from biomedical physicians when their suffering was attributed to natural causes.[983]

Cleanliness, Motherhood and the Egyptian Nation

Ḥasan al-Bannā, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, insisted in his *Risālat al-Taʿālīm* that the Muslim youth should be "virtuous, industrious and temperate, cleanly and punctual, strong and self-confident, modest and polite, physically fit and spiritually aware."[984] Al-Bannā, although addressing young Muslim men, was propagating similar values to those of the missionaries. For them, cleanliness, bodily and spiritual health, temperance, punctuality and discipline were important virtues not only for men and even more for girls and women. Not only the Muslim Brotherhood, but also Islamic reformers and secular nationalists stressed

[982] "She told us immediately that we treated her relatives, when they were sick. Strange, since she claims to be gifted with healing powers herself." See Herzfeld, *Als Ärztin am Nil (Folge II),* 15.
[983] Morsy, *Gender, Sickness, and Healing in Rural Egypt,* 29-31 and 99-148. In other cultural contexts, such as in certain parts of Africa, people made also a fundamental distinction between „disease of God" (natural causes of disease, to be cured with biomedicine) and „disease of man" (caused by witchcraft and required rituals and spiritual healing). See Porterfield, *Healing in the History of Christianity*, 149-52.
[984] Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 111.

the importance of cleanliness, good health, orderliness and the quality of the domestic life, throughout the first half of the twentieth century. How can it be understood that similar discursive formations found in the missionary sources, were prevalent in the writings of Egyptian intellectuals and socio-political activists too? Why do we find similar concepts and associated practices, similar values, and (gender) ideals?

Before I address this question, I would like to recapitulate the main concepts of cleanliness, health and gender that I found in missionary sources. Statements on cleanliness and dirt in the missionary sources usually appear associated to different sets of other statements, hence forming a discursive formation.[985] This formation defined what dirt was, and why it was out of place or even dangerous. Concepts of cleanliness were produced accordingly and were associated with specific practices of cleansing. Unwashed clothes and bodies, muddy (drinking) water, flies on food and eyes, and mice and pests in houses, all appear as dirt and were considered a threat to health, as leading to eye diseases, and as causes for the high infant mortality rate. The causal connection between these kinds of dirt (implying that this dirt was full of infectious germs) and disease is a central statement in the (popularised) biomedical discourse. This central concept was included in missionary discourses, and hence regulated the discourse in the field of health and cleanliness.[986]

Furthermore, dirt, sickness and high infant mortality were closely associated with precarious living conditions and economic poverty. Ignorance and "superstition" were also related to dirt and diseases, particularly within the context of improper baby care. There are writings addressing men and women in matters of hygiene, health, and superstition. However, in the missionaries' perception, and in their teachings, these topics were predominantly associated with the domestic- and hence with the female- sphere. In the manner of middle-class Europeans, they regarded home and children as being the natural domain of the woman.[987] But the domestic sphere, particularly Muslim family, were regarded as being in a crisis. When addressing domestic issues and the situation of women in Egypt, statements that closely associate dirt with sickness also appear as a sign of unfair conditions. In their descriptions the missionaries saw external squalor -manifest in lack of orderliness, neglected children, and dirty houses, clothes, and bodies- as symptoms of an unjust family structure. The despotic rule of the hus-

[985] On the relation between statements and discursive formation, see Foucault, *Archäologie des Wissens,* 48-60 and 169-71.
[986] Sarasin, Berger, Hänseler, and Spörri "Bakteriologie und Moderne," 16-28; Temkin, "Eine historische Analyse des Infektionsbegriffs," 58-67; and Gradmann, "Unsichtbare Feinde," 327-32.
[987] Comaroff and Comaroff. "Hausgemachte Hegemonie," 249-54; and Hollows, *Domestic Cultures,* 16-9.

band, and a lack of order in child-education and household, led to neglect and dirt as well as to incompetent housewives and ignorant mothers.[988]

The inferior position of women in Muslim society, detected in unjust family structures -but also in polygamy, in early marriage and in the possibility for the male abandonment through divorce- was closely linked to Islam in the missionary writings. An orientalist view on Islam, and statements critical of Islam, are widespread in the analysed missionary sources in German or English writings (but not in the Arabic analysed sources). These discourses on Islam also impacted the missionaries' thinking and writing in health matters. Generally these critical discourses of Islam confined the possibilities to make positive statements on the Muslim religion. Cleanliness, purity and cleansing practices all play an important role in the Quran and the prophetic tradition, and hence were also vividly discussed topics in Islamic scholarship.[989] The missionaries, however, did not refer to Islamic concepts or practices in order to popularise their own hygienic and health practices. Still, the Islamic maxim "cleanliness comes from faith and the trust is in God" was used in one of the missionaries' arguments which aimed to highlight the importance of hygiene. However, this saying was not only used by Muslims in Egypt; it finds its equivalent in the English speaking Christian context in the idiom, "cleanliness is next to godliness".

Dirt must be removed, superstition had to be opposed, and the position of women in society should be improved: these were causes of ill health, infant mortality and unhappy families. To face down these circumstances, the missionaries imparted hygienic practices, health knowledge, baby care and home economics, and even proposed an alternative ideal for women. Their ideal housewife led the household with confidence. With discipline and orderliness, she cared for cleanliness in the domestic sphere and for the well-being of her children. The missionaries stressed the formation of these female virtues, championed the schooling of girls, and strictly opposed early marriage. The Egyptian woman should be transformed into a competent housewife and a wise mother. The Evangelicals assumed that husbands would appreciate such capable women and would be far less likely to divorce them. By disciplining the children at school, by educating, and by giving normatively shaped advice to women, the missionaries tried to shape this new role model.

In 1956, the year of the Suez crisis that resulted in major changes to missionary work, Samuel Ḥabīb, reverend at the Egyptian Presbyterian church and founder of the *Coptic Evangelical*

[988] Boulos, ",A clean heart like clean clothes'," 326-7.
[989] Chaumont, "Wuḍūʾ"; and Reinhart, "Ṭahāra".

Organization for Social Services (CEOSS), started to edit a journal called *Risālat al-Nūr*.[990] This journal, targeting both the men and women of rural areas, was illustrated and written in simple Arabic. The previously quoted story of Fatḥiyya and her fear of the envious eye appeared in *Risālat al-Nūr*.

Articles in *Risālat al-Nūr* covered a broad range of topics encompassing spiritual issues (such as short lessons in the Bible), suggestions for farming, moral issues (in articles as well as in short stories), and also aimed to promote hygiene and health. The statements in the fields of cleanliness, health and domestic ideals followed discursive patterns that can be found in missionary sources too. We find articles on the danger of flies, on eye diseases, on the importance of educating children in a clean environment and of teaching them the value of cleanliness, and also on the importance of hygiene in baby care. Hence, in this journal, cleanliness was associated with the predominant arguments of health promotion.[991] But issues concerning gender relations and family ideals were also discussed. Unlike in the examined Arabic missionary sources, health and family matters were not only female topics in *Risālat al-Nūr*. The editors similarly addressed the husbands, suggesting moral and sometimes economic arguments for abstaining from polygamy and divorce. They asked the men to treasure their wife and treat her kindly in front of other people and they praised the value of the mothers role in the upbringing of children.[992]

Thus, the missionary discourses on health and gender relations in families provided a certain flexibility. These discourses were able to produce new statements and address other groups, accommodating to new fields and situations without running contrary to the basic rules forming the discursive patterns. The discourses critical of Islam, for instance, had a certain impact on the missionaries' speaking about health, but statements of these discourses vanish in *Risālat al-Nūr* and in other Egyptian writings. In return, new statements appeared in these writings, but without affecting the basic rules of the missionary health and hygiene discourses.

Considering the flexibility of discursive formations, it is not surprising that statements, produced by the discourses on health and hygiene prevalent in missionary sources, can also be

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[990] Samuel Ḥabīb was involved in literary campaigns in rural areas and he called for gender reforms within the evangelical church, such as for the eradication of clitoridectomy or eliminating midwives' virginity tests for newly married young women. See Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 194-5.

[991] "ʾAḍrār al-Dhubāb," 10-1 (on the danger of flies); "ʾAmrāḍ al-ʿuyūn," 10-1 (on eye diseases and the danger of flies for the eyes); "Naẓāfat al-shawāriʿ wa-al-buyūt," 10-3 (on the importance of cleanliness as well as of education of children for the health); and "Al-Naẓāfa," 32-3 (importance of hygiene in baby-care).

[992] "Bayt al-ṭāʿa yā majlis wa-taʿaddud al-zawjāt wa-al-ṭāliq «al-sāʾib»," 4-5 (addressing men: economic arguments against poligamy and moral arguments against divorce); "Al-Zawj al-ʿāqil yaḥtarim zawjatahu amāma al-nās," 24-5 (addressing men: highlighting the importance of women in the family and calling for harmonic relations between spouses); "Shukran laki ya ummī," 6 (by thanking the mother, the author tries to highlight the importance of the mothers in the upbringing).

found in Egyptian school books. For instance, in a school book used in official religious studies class in the late 1980s, hygienic cleanliness is propagated as a virtue and as being of essential importance for good health.[993] Thereby good health is not taught as the only reason that children should be diligent and show discipline in keeping themselves clean. In missionary sources, cleanliness and hygiene were propagated in a morally charged language, but generally hygienic practices were not established as moral or religious duties in categorical terms. The statements on hygiene in the schoolbook of the Egyptian religion class however, are combined with statements which harmonise Islam with modern science. Hygienic cleanliness is closely related to the ritual purity of *Wuḍūʾ*, and consequently also hygiene becomes a religious duty. The book claims that in accordance with modern medical knowledge, the benefits of Wuḍūʾ are not only spiritual purity but also the promotion of bodily health.[994]

The missionaries related domestic cleanliness and healthy children to the social position and to the educational state of women in the Egypt. But they were not the only critics of the Egyptian society, when it came to the capabilities of a good mother and housewife. Ḥasan al-Bannā for instance complained:

"تدرس البنت في مدارسنا الموسيقى واللغة الأجنبية والهندسة الفراغية والقانون الآن! ثم هي لا تعلم شيئاً عن تربية الطفل ولا تدبيرالصحة ولا علم النفس ولا الدين والخلق ولا تدبير المنزل!!"[995]

While the missionaries were criticising that many girls did not receive any education at all, because they were wed too early, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood considered the schooling of girls as impractical for their future destiny. Both the Protestant missionaries and the eminent Islamist agreed however, that when it came to the competences and virtues a woman should have, she should, besides being a good housewife, be a moral and religious person, who was able to raise healthy and well behaving children.

However, neither the missionaries nor the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood were making novel claims. The so-called "Woman Question", encompassing topics of female education and work, seclusion and veiling, polygamy and divorce were discussed by Islamic reforms, nationalists, and female feminists, from as early as the late nineteenth century. The social and economic transformation during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century gave rise to an urban middle class, and also affected family structures. In the Egyptian-Ottoman elite household, harem slavery was abolished and the harem system slowly disintegrated. In the urban middle class, entrepreneurial men increasingly had to relinquish the responsibility

[993] Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work*, 140-2.
[994] Starrett, "The Hexis of Interpretation," 960-2.
[995] "The girl is learning music, foreign language, and geometry of the space in our schools today! And she does not know how to raise her children, nor how to care for the health, nor anything on psychology, nor on religion and the morals, and nor on housekeeping." See *Majmuʿat rasāʾil al-imām Ḥasan al-Bannā,* 358.

of household management and focus their attention on their economic activities.[996] These social changes, as well as colonial encounters, opened debates about the Egyptian family which was considered to be in crisis. Many Egyptian writers and intellectuals saw a promising model for a modern Egyptian family in the middle class Victorian family, one characterised by monogamy, by domestic and familial responsibility of the woman, and the placement of the man in the role of the breadwinner.[997] Islamic intellectuals such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā highlighted the importance of girls' education, in order to enable them to be competent mothers, who knew how to care for the health and morals of their children.[998] The discussions on the position of women in society and family as well as on motherhood were closely meshed with the nationalist project of an independent Egypt. The advancement of girls' education and the progress of the status of women would form the "Mothers of the Nation", a modern motherhood that created healthy, productive and efficient sons and citizens.[999]

While female missionaries propagated ideals of a wise mother and competent housewife, they themselves usually did not comply with these ideals. Often they were single, did not have children, and were professionals, sometimes even working in the influential positions of headmistress or, like Elisabeth Herzfeld, as clinic directors. The female missionaries received possibilities and respected by their male colleagues in a way that would have been exceptional in their home countries.[1000] Female students in missionary schools, particularly those of the upper middle class, often chose not to adhere solely to the domestic sphere, but rather chose to learn a profession. However, unlike most female missionaries, they did not remain single and childless due to their professional choice.[1001]

The discourses defining dirt and cleanliness as matter of health and as social concern, forming certain conceptions and practices of hygiene, as well as producing new models of motherhood

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[996] Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 31-6; and Haj, *Reconfiguring Islamic Tradition*, 155-6.

[997] Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation,* 4-6; Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt*, 155-67. In matter of legislation, polygamy was rather unsuccessfully attacked by secular and Christian nationalists. See Kholoussy, *For Better, For Worse,* 12-3. The Victorian ideal of domesticity was also propagated by Lord Cromer. See Russell, *Creating the new Egyptian Woman*, 118-120.

[998] Haj, *Reconfiguring Islamic Tradition*, 155-161. The problem of the ignorant mother, often closely associated with their lack of hygienic awareness, was widely discussed by Egyptian nationalists, not only by religious intellectuals. See Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play,"143-8.

[999] Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play," 142-3; Baron, *Egypt as a Woman,* 36-9; and Abugideiri, *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in Colonial Egypt*, 233-41. The picture of the mother was often used allegorically for Egypt. See Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation*, 189-95. Nationalist discourses on the importance of motherhood, and the problematisation of divorce in the Egyptian society of the inter-war period also impacted the Islamic judges' judicature with regard to extending the mothers' right in child custody. See Kholoussy, *For Better, For Worse,* 99-111.

[1000] Arrington, "Making Sense of Martha: Single Women and Mission Work".

[1001] The English Mission College alumni directory from 1991 reveals that many female students were working and having children. See EMC Alumni Association Directory – 1991, Ereny Press: Cairo 1991. See also Sproul, *The American College for Girls,* 99-178; and Fleischmann, "Lost in Translation," 57-62.

and family, were not introduced to Egypt by the examined missionary societies.[1002] However, the missionaries' institutions and endeavours played an important role in popularising the discussed concepts and practices. They propagated these concepts and practices, not only among the elite and the middle class, but also among people in rural areas and in urban slums. The promotion of hygiene, health, and motherhood, was regarded as of essential importance for the improvement of the standard of living in poor areas from the very beginning of the missionary work. This concern was later shared by the Muslim Brotherhood and gained increasing importance for the Egyptian government.

[1002] In a discourse analytical perspective the search for the origins of certain discourses only makes sense, when the series of statements are most exactly defined, in a field that is discursively homogeneous. This is not the case for the studied discourses on hygiene, health and the Egyptian family. Generally, the discourse analysis does not deal with origins, but rather studies the formation rules and series of statement. See Foucault, *Archäologie des Wissens,* 201-7.

CONCLUSION

Christian missionary institutions with their activities only reached a fraction of the Egyptian population. However, despite the limited numbers of people in direct contact with the missionaries, their activities had an impact that reached beyond missionary intentions and the actual institutions. As the writings of Rashīd Riḍā -and in particular as those of the anti-missionary agitations show- Egyptian intellectuals and political activists observed Christian missions thereby and they (critically) discussed its endeavours. Among others, the Muslim Brotherhood, the organisation that has become Egypt's most influential Islamist movement, was concerned about the missionary work in Egypt. At their first general conference in 1933, they discussed this topic extensively.[1003] In a report a year later, Ḥasan al-Bannā evaluated the Brotherhood's activities and progress in the fields of welfare and religion. Among others, they founded institutions for the education of girls and organisations to promote to the learning of the Quran by heart. Furthermore, they launched preaching in places where preaching was usually not expected, such as in coffeehouses or clubs. Additionally al-Bannā mentioned those activities of the Brotherhood that were directed against Christian missionaries:

ولقد كان لجماعة الإخوان المسلمين فى حركة التبشير الأخيرة بل فى كل وقت عمل جليل فى دفع خطر التبشير عن المستضعفين والفقراء من أبناء الأمة، فبيوت الإخوان لإيوائهم ودور صناعاتهم مستعدة لتعليمهم، ومدارسهم ترحب بقبولهم، تحذر الناس من شرور هؤلاء المضللين الذين يخادعون الناس عن عقائدهم ويستغلون الفقر والمرض فى إضلالهم وإذلالهم.[1004]

The Muslim Brotherhood was established as benevolent society with pronounced Sufi elements and hence drew from a longstanding Islamic welfare tradition. Similar to the missionaries, but with an Islamic foundation, the Brotherhood was concerned with promoting religious education, moral orientation and a correct understanding of Islam.[1005] Unlike the missionaries, they did not aim to proselytise non-Muslims, because they were targeting Muslims in the first place. The Christian missionaries combined the promotion of faith and welfare work, and since they managed to attracted Muslims and Christians, Ḥasan al-Bannā and his comrades considered them as a serious threat, despite rare conversions. Therefore, the Brotherhood

[1003] Al-Bannā, *Mudhakkirāt al-daʿwa wa-al-dāʿiya,* 147-51; and Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 13.

[1004] "The Muslim Brotherhood already accomplished significant work concerning the recent missionary movements and at any time it defended the nation's weak and poor from the missionary danger. The houses of the Brothers are shelters for them, their industrial buildings are ready to teach them and their schools welcome them friendly. The Muslim Brotherhood warns the people from the wickedness of these deluders who deceive the people with regard to their convictions and win the poor and the sick with their delusions and humiliations." See al-Bannā, "Muʾassasāt wa-mashārīʿ," 62.

[1005] Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 25-36.

aimed to tackle the missionary endeavours; not by means of violence, but rather by competing with their welfare and educational services for the weak and the poor.[1006]

Institutions played a crucial role in the welfare and religious work of the Muslim Brotherhood. Some of their methods and foci, as for instance the coffeehouse preaching or the emphasis of teaching the girls as future mothers, bear a striking resemblance to those used by the missionaries.[1007] In the tract *Risālat al-Taʿālīm*, Ḥasan al-Bannā reflects upon the role of Jesuit schools for the promotion of Catholic Christianity. Furthermore, he compares missionary schools to the schools established by the Muslim Brotherhood. Therefore it seems obvious that the Brothers were not hesitant in practicing a "learning form the enemy", as long as the model institutions and methods were suitable for their own purposes.[1008] Religious instructions, activities within the mosque, welfare work and education were important factors for the growth of the Muslim Brotherhood.[1009] To put it bluntly, the Christian missionaries indirectly contributed to the success of what has become the most important Islamist organisation in Egypt.

The missionaries active in Egypt in the late nineteenth (and in the first half of the twentieth) century did not wish to be considered as a threat to (Islamic) society and as a result become a focus point of the Islamic welfare work that aimed to diminish the missionaries' influence. Neither did they intend to inspire an Islamist movement, which endeavoured to promote the Islamisation of Egyptian society and politics with their methods. However, as the example of the relations between the Muslim Brotherhood and Christian mission shows, processes of cultural exchange do not firstly follow intentions, but entail the potential to gain momentum and produce unpredictable consequences.

The exploration and explanation of cultural entanglements in the context of selected Protestant missionary institutions in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century are at the core of this study. Products resulting from processes of cultural exchange are identified and the functionalities involved are described. In certain cases such functionalities, allowing impartment, appropriation and reinterpretation of values, concepts and practices, are themselves consequences of cultural entanglements. Furthermore, the social, economic and politi-

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[1006] Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers,* 282-9.
[1007] Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt*, 105-7; and Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna*, 22.
[1008] al-Bannā, "Tarbiyat al-nashʾ tarbiya islāmiyya khāliṣa," 361-2. Also Maḥmūd Yāsīn -who became a member of the Muslim Brotherhood in the late 1930s, was the president of the Brotherhood's students' union and had close contact to Ḥasan al-Bannā- told me in an unrecorded interview that the Brotherhood was open to learn from other communities as long as it served their endeavours. He mentioned as example the Brotherhood's Friday schools which were inspired by the Sunday schools of (Egyptian) Christian communities. See Maḥmūd Yāsīn, conversation with author, Cairo 17. 8. 2009.
[1009] Zahid, *The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Succession Crisis,* 72-4.

cal conditions as well as the self-understanding of the missionaries have been discussed in order to gain a better understanding of the frameworks and certain conditions of these exchange processes. Complementarily, the close analysis of the interactions and experiences proved suitable to provide explanations for functionalities and for the causes of why certain elements were appropriated and others rejected.

This chapter recapitalises some of the essential findings of this study and thereby distinguishes three levels of cultural entanglements, which nevertheless overlap in certain respects. In a first step those processes are considered, which were involved in shaping the cultural encounters and transformations on the personal level. Furthermore, explanations for exemplary products of cultural exchange are provided. In a second and third step the institutional and then the social and discursive levels are discussed. Since this is a microhistoric study, the personal level as well as the individuals' relationships with and within institutions have received most attention.

Personal Experiences and Cultural Entanglements

"Spirit of serving" has evolved as an important category, grounded in the analysis of personal encounters within missionary institutions in Egypt, and it can be considered as a concept that resulted from cultural encounters. Additionally, it is also a suitable category to illustrate how, on the personal level, cultural exchange processes made an impact. Therefore, the "spirit of serving" serves the following section as an example and starting point to provide insights into the range of consequences evolving from cultural entanglements. Furthermore, discussing the mentioned category can contribute to the understanding of the results and of the functionalities of entanglements. Additionally, since the "spirit of serving" only provides selective insights, further crucial aspects not covered by the reflections on this category are discussed.

Particularly from within the context of Christian mission, serving was understood as a mode of action that bore a normative evaluation. It was regarded as being part of Christian charity. The missionaries considered their work as a commission from God to serve the target population, to care for the sick and poor, to provide knowledge to the ignorant and in particular to spread the Gospel by words and deeds. Usually the missionaries considered evangelisation as both a core task and a key motivation for their welfare and educational work. However, conversions, especially those of Muslims, were very rare in Egypt and the success of the evangelistic activities was often modest. The following insight of Dr. Elisabeth Herzfeld is thereby telling:

„So bleibt zum Schluß doch immer wieder viel Grund zum Danken und die bescheidene Erkenntnis, dass Mission wirklich nicht ist, Herzen im Sturm erobern, sondern sie ein wenig und immer wieder von neuem liebhaben, dann wird schon die Mauer von Angst und Aberglauben und Vorurteilen (…) endlich einmal ein Bresche bekommen."[1010]

Elisabeth Herzfeld must have entered the mission with the idea that Muslims would be more responsive towards the Christian religion and would therefore be easier to convert. However, after working for a while in Egypt, this concept of missionary work turned out to be misguided. The hope for quick conversion successes had to be abandoned and replaced by different hopes and ideals. To "love" (*liebhaben*) people in the first place, to serve them and to be compassionate with them without having the expectation of a sudden change of religion, emerged as new attitude in missionary work.

This ideal of altruistic service for the people could easily be shared by the Egyptian Christian missionary worker, who, even when they were evangelical minded, usually did not have the evangelistic zeal of the missionaries.[1011] Serving needy people however was also part of the missionary idea, though for the foreign missionaries not the dominant part. Since the religious circumstances in Egypt made proselytising a difficult task, the "spirit of serving" emerged as an ideal. This ideal could be equally shared by all employees and hence provided a common identity that was considered as specifically Christian. Furthermore, it implied the conviction that the service practiced was a divine commission. Therefore it involved a moral commitment and imposed a corresponding attitude upon the individual towards their work in the missionary institution. By adapting the "spirit of serving" as a maxim for daily work and for their dealing with people, missionaries and employees could identify their involvement as a specific Christian activity complying with the missionary aims. Thus the "spirit of serving" was a product between the interplay of several factors, namely the reactions of the target groups to evangelism, religious attitudes of Egyptian employees, certain normative elements from the missionary idea, and missionaries who had to adapt their missionary conception (at least for their daily work).

The "spirit of serving" was expressed through certain modes of actions and it ideally became part of the employees' *habitus*. It furthermore represented a normative ideal, was associated

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[1010] "Therefore in the end, there are always many reasons to give thanks and there is the modest realisation that mission is truly not about taking hearts by assault, but rather to love them again and again. Doing so, the walls of fear, superstition and prejudice (…) will surely get cracks someday." See Küster and Herzfeld, "Vom Missionsfeld," 35-6.

[1011] None of the Egyptian interviewees, who worked for the mission, not even the former Egypt General Mission evangelist Raʾfat ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, shared the evangelistic zeal of the foreign missionaries. German missionaries travelling through Egypt and visiting evangelical churches in the early 1950s also complained that the Christians generally do not see an urgent duty to evangelise Muslims. See Merklin, Hans: Vorläufiger Reisebericht. 1952, EMO Archives, B I: Korrespondenz mit SENM (Blum/Merklin) 1947-1959, p. 2.

with certain moral values and attitudes towards work. Most of the categories found through the examination of cultural entanglements, can be attributed to this rather normative and very personal sphere of values, attitudes, and conduct. Categories responding to the spheres of knowledge or techniques do not play a comparable role in the sources, although certain topics like the acquisition of foreign languages or nursing skills are widely addressed. Acquired knowledge and techniques were certainly crucial to everyday life and work, but when evaluating the experiences and meaning of the cultural encounters, then categories from the sphere of values, moral, attitudes and modes of actions are dominant.

Several factors were involved in the processes of transmission, appropriation and adaption within cultural entangled spaces. Mechanisms of disciplinary powers are thereby a crucial category and they represent one component of the functionalities of the process of cultural exchange. Disciplinary powers acted predominantly within the framework of institutions, be it hospitals or schools. They affected all involved persons by regulating their actions and conduct through a system of rules, surveillance, sanctions and rewards. Students and teachers, patients and doctors, and every individual that became part of the institution had to conform to regulations and requirements that impacted upon their own thoughts and actions. Disciplinary mechanisms were especially efficient if the individual was involved for a longer period, since then certain modes of conduct were extensively practiced and associated with certain values and norms. Such a practice crucially impacted upon the habitus -this set of dispositions and manners of acting, feeling and thinking- and consequentially, the acquired modes of conduct and the concrete meaning of certain values showed durability and impacted also upon life outside the institution. However, disciplinary powers were not shaping the whole value system and every disposition. For instance, they did not play a significant role for the formation of the "spirit of serving". This ideal however, if internalised, also became part of the habitus.

The category "teaching- and learning relations" and its associated sub-categories were important in the formation and impartment of the "spirit of serving". This category, together with its related sub-categories, evolved into a core-category in the analysis of cultural exchange functionalities. Although the categories from the range of teaching and learning are usually associated with educational institutions, typically with schools, they are also suitable to describe processes of adaption and transformation in other settings of interaction which was happening in culturally entangled spaces.

Egyptian employees of the *Sudan-Pionier Mission* hospital retrospectively consider the "spirit of serving" as an essential attitude they learned through their interactions with the missionaries. This ideal could not be imparted through modes of direct schooling and formal education.

It was rather a product of "learning by example", i.e. learning from situations that were experienced as exemplary and hence providing insight into the practical meaning of a rather abstract concept. Furthermore, "learning by example" also implied a consideration of the actions of individuals in certain situations as exemplary, particularly if there was coherence between speaking and acting. Usually these people were considered as role models (at least to a certain extent) with a moral authority. For instance, the Egyptian nurses interviewed learned -from senior German missionaries (whose treatment of the people was regarded as exemplary)- the importance of serving their patients with a specific attitude. Also, Miss Smith's ideal as a teacher evolved through her interactions with experienced Egyptian teachers of the *Bethel School*, whose dealing with the children she considered as exemplary.

"Understanding" is a crucial category in the context of "teaching" and "learning"-relations and it is also important for the comprehension of appropriation and adaptation processes in cultural entangled spaces. "Learning by understanding" corresponds to "teaching by explaining" and concerns certain processes of sustainable acquisition (i.e. what is learned could be applied in various situations) and contextualising impartment (i.e. locating what is taught in the wider, already known contexts) of knowledge and skills. "Understanding" is crucial to a successful "learning by example", since within this process, the individual manages to associate (abstract) normative concepts with concrete actions in everyday life. "Understanding" does not take place passively, but is rather an active process of contextualising these new elements within the already existent structures. Thereby not only are one's own structures adapted and extended, but the acquired concepts and skills are also transformed in order to match with existing ones. Furthermore, the newly learned skills and concepts are adapted by applying them to new situations. The harmonisation of new concepts and skills with those already known, their application and adaption to new situations and challenges, and the providing of known elements with new shades of meaning in a process of reinterpretation, are all proprieties of the elaborated category "understanding". Therefore this category evolves to become crucial to the analysis of cultural exchange processes on the personal level.

Processes of transmission, appropriation and adaption were enabled and promoted by certain conditions. On the personal level, categories such as trust, compatibility, interpersonal relations and the quality of these relations are important for the understanding of cultural exchange processes. The quality of interpersonal relations was crucial considering those teaching and learning relations, which impacted upon personal habits, modes of perceiving, thinking and acting as well as upon the subjective value system. Following the analysed interviews and written sources, individuals involved generally experienced these relationships as respect-

ful and amicable. Hierarchical structures were also considered appropriate and persons of authority, though sometimes feared in the school context because of the punishments, were not experienced as abusive, but rather as considerate. Respectful and harmonious interpersonal relations appear to be conducive in particular for those kinds of learning- and teaching processes that affected the understanding of certain values and also impacted views as well as the personal conduct. Therefore, "learning by example", for instance, was promoted or even enabled when the learner had a good relationship with the person considered as exemplary in conduct. Modes of action and ideals were hence more likely to be considered as exemplary and worth of imitation, if a person was admired.

Further categories that contribute to the understanding of cultural exchange processes on the personal level are "trust" and "compatibility". "Trust" forms a condition from which closer relations can be established and an openness to encounter and learn from the other can also occur. Furthermore, "trust" concerns not only persons, but it is also essential in establishing contact with (welfare) institutions. Only when parents trusted a school, would they send their children there and only if family members believed in the treatment provided by a hospital, would they bring their sick relative to the emergency room. However, if a relation of "trust" was established, then the basis for long-term encounters was laid.

"Trust" forms a condition for the "compatibility" of concepts and values within processes of appropriation and transformation. If parents for instance sent their girl to a mission school, then they basically trusted this institution and believed that what was taught was generally beneficial for their child. The girl, however, encountered at school concepts, values, norms and rules of conduct that did not always match what she was used to at home, and still she was expected to conform to them to a certain degree. Therefore she had to deal with conflicting claims and views. In order to avoid trouble she could apply two strategies that are not mutually exclusive. First, she could conform to certain prevalent norms and views at school, while abandoning them at home and conforming to different ones there, since not everything that is valid at school applies also at home. Second, she could harmonise the conflicting values, views and concepts by reinterpreting them, highlighting certain aspects and giving less weight to others, and seeking out the common elements that were compatible both to home and school. Since the family entrusted their child to the school and hence provided it with authority and credibility, the efforts to establish commutabilities was promoted. These processes to make concepts, values, believes and modes of conduct compatible between two or even more social spaces through reinterpretation, harmonisation and partly rejections, were not limited to schools, but also took place in other social contexts.

The concept of *entangled histories* implies that processes of transfer and appropriation affect all actors. However, considering the impact of cultural encounters on the personal level, the Egyptians involved in the examined missionary institutions were regarded (and regarded themselves) to more often be in the learning position, acquiring knowledge and skills coming from a European context.[1012] Still, foreign missionaries were also seen to be in learning positions, since they needed to get to know the local customs, the ways of thinking and actions of the people they had come to serve, and therefore relied on the knowledge of indigenous missionary workers. However, personal developments through the encounters appear less in the accounts of missionaries and they generally seemed to be less eager in acquiring local concepts, norms, values and skills.[1013] Certainly not all missionaries were equally open to learn or to extend their cultural repertoire. For instance, while the Swiss nurse Maja Meier admitted that she did not learn much from the local population, her husband always emphasised the importance to learn from the people and apparently also felt enriched by his encounters. However, this explanation, focusing on personal dispositions, does not answer the question of why missionaries appeared to be less receptive than Egyptians or, at least, were less aware of the impact of the cultural encounters. I will provide two explanations for this phenomenon. The first explanation is provided in the following paragraph, while the second can be found in the section on the social impacts of the cultural encounters.

Considering teaching and learning relations, which were crucial in processes of cultural exchange, the role allocation between learners and teachers must be understood in relation to the structures of the institutions. On the one hand the examined institutions were established according to European models, and on the other hand the hospitals and the schools were conceptualised as welfare institutions and hence operated in modes of teaching, serving and helping. Therefore, most missionaries did not consider themselves as learners in the first place, but came with the aim to spread an evangelically shaped Christian faith, and to provide certain types of services, which were regarded as helpful and lacking in the local societies.

The positions within the institutions were defined by their respective functions in the hospital or the school. Therefore the modes of action of those who held these positions were pre-structured to a certain degree through their organisational roles. Due to their specialised education, the European missionaries held positions that corresponded to their formation in medicine, nursing, theology or pedagogy, but these positions were also basically open to those

[1012] Randeria, "Geteilte Geschichte und verwobene Moderne," 91-5. However, the concept of *entangled histories* also highlights the importance of power asymmetries for the interactions and representations.

[1013] Other studies also have highlighted the changing attitudes and personal developments of missionaries that resulted from the encounters. See for instance Laing, *Print, Prayer, and Presence*, 198-209 and 293-9; and Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt,* 215-31.

Egyptians with equivalent skills (this topic will be discussed in the next section). Furthermore, missionaries usually held higher hierarchical positions and more competences, a fact which corresponded to their education and to their functions within the institution. Being in a learning position meant to acquire and refine competences, be receptive for correction and to change own concepts, and ascribe authority to those in the teaching position. If the teaching position however is filled with subordinates, then persons in higher ranks often are afraid that their authority in the organisation might be undermined by being in the learning position.

Institutions and individual Agency

The concept of *ordered space* developed in this study, describes a functionality of cultural exchange processes which particularly impact upon the personal level. The ordered spaces which are examined are crucially related to specific institutions whose structures and patterns of working are formative for the establishment of this kind of social space. Still, ordered spaces and institutions do not coincide. The interactions and relations, and the values and concepts shared by the individuals within a certain institution, enabled the formation of a symbolic, discursively produced identity. This identity was ascribed to the institution, hence making it to more than a mere school or hospital. In addition, this symbolic identity was crucial for the functioning of the ordered space. Thus the ordered space was a mechanism of the cultural exchange processes, impacting upon the habitus and views of the individuals involved. At the same time the ordered space itself was a product of cultural entanglements that became manifest on the institutional level.

Why does the concept of ordered space contribute to the analysis and understanding of processes of impartment, appropriation and transformation in cultural entangled spaces? To answer this question, the characteristics of this type of social space must be illustrated. The ordered space is a social sphere, where certain rules and orders are prevalent. Particularly individuals, who are involved for a longer period in an institution, are impacted upon by certain structures that shape their modes of acting, speaking and thinking. Hence, the extensive praxis taking place within the instructional framework, the involved propagated and practiced norms and their associated values, leave imprints on the habitus of the individuals.

Relations, interpersonal as well as the individual's relation to norms, and values prevalent in the institution are crucial for the formation of the ordered space. Thereby favourable relations (to both, norms and other persons) promote the individual's sense of belonging to the institutions and contribute to the formation of a group identity. This identity is closely related to the

institution (and is for instance called "spirit of the school"), which thereby contributes to the evolvement of the ordered space. For the formation of the symbolic identity, individual and shared experiences are essential and stand in close relationship to discourses which produce those patterns allowing the expression of these experiences, the forming of particular statements and the shaping of a certain vocabulary. This identity enables the individuals involved to identify themselves with the ordered space, to feel that they are part of it and to adopt the prescribed norms and values. Furthermore, this identity promotes the notion that the ordered space appears as specific social entity. Additionally, demarcations from other comparable social spaces -usually along the lines of values, norms and the quality of the relations- contribute to the consolidation of the ordered space as a social entity as well as to the specification of its symbolic identity.

Ordered spaces have the potential to create an environment that for the individuals' national, and sometimes even religious, identities as well as cultural attributions appear to be fading. The norms, values, concepts and modes of actions which are encountered -especially if the relations are experienced as favourable- are attributed in the first place to the ordered space. The symbolic identity forms a condition in which the encountered concepts are seen in the first place as part of the ordered space and not of a specific cultural context. Furthermore, the involved individuals are not perceived, first and foremost, as Egyptians or foreigners for instance, but are rather defined by their organisational role or by the personal relationship experienced. The fading of cultural attributions promotes and facilitates the appropriation of values, norms, habits and concepts, as these are associated with the ordered space and hence are less ideologically charged. Thus, on an analytical level, the concept of ordered space facilitates an examination of a culturally entangled space without referring to essentialist categories of cultural belonging. Dichotomies, such as Egyptian/foreigner, Oriental/Western and even Muslim/Christian, are to a certain extent dissolved, since (depending on the context) national, cultural and even religious entities appear to be secondary within this social space.

The practices, norms and concepts that are prevalent in an ordered space, even if the corresponding institution is established according to a European model, can often not be ascribed to a specific cultural context (for instance in the case of the examined missionary institution to the German or British context). Firstly, the missionaries understood their institutions primarily as Christian organisations, which provided the according services, and not as agencies promoting European civilisation. Secondly, interactions and internal processes within the institution as well as its adaptation to the requirements of the social environment constituted an organisation that of its own could not be found in this form in Europe. The category "organi-

sational learning" has proven to be productive to describe and explain transformation processes on the institutional level, thereby considering the impacts of social entanglements.

An important precondition for *organisational learning* is the flexibility of the institutional structures that allowed for adaptations. In particular, if organisational objectives were perused more efficiently, such adaptations and changes in the structures and modes of operation appeared to be justified. Organisational learning was induced by challenges or requirements from the social or governmental environment. After Egypt received its nominal independence missionary institutions had to increasingly react to government regulations concerning their work. Furthermore, competition by other welfare organisations could also promote new foci or adaptations to the services. However, missionaries were active in reflecting upon their activities; they tried to be sensitive to obstacles in their work and discussed how their objectives could be better pursued considering the changing requirements of the Egyptian society.

Internal dynamics were promoted by interactions and communication, and were also impacted upon by cultural entanglements. Foreign missionaries, as well as local workers (and people closely involved), had certain roles that structured the modes of actions and that were defined by their function within the organisation. However, these organisational roles usually provided the individuals with a certain agency to reinterpret their role (in order to better meet the challenges) or to acquire additional roles. Certain roles that evolved through these processes ran counter to the predominant social norms and conventions and hence were products of these cultural encounters.[1014] Organisational learning thus becomes manifest in the adaptation of organisational structures (including spatial structures), in the transformation of modes of operation, in the creation of new organisational roles and in the redefinition of old roles through the acquisition of additional competences. Since individuals contribute to organisational learning, it is a category that displays how agency on the micro-level could impact broader structures.

Organisational learning impacted upon the structures of institutions, created new roles and hence also impacted the self-understanding of the involved people. However, how sustainable was this organisational learning that occurs in the framework of culturally entangled spaces? This question could only be touched and not fully answered in this study. Further investigation is needed, whereby additional institutions should be included for comparison. Following

[1014] For instance the Nubian ʿAbduh had many different roles in his work for the Sudan-Pionier Mission and the family Fröhlich. He was cook, domestic servant, translator, cultural interpreter and nursing auxiliary. Furthermore, he was taking care of the Doctor's children, a task that usually was accomplished by women in the Swiss as well as in the Nubian societies. In the caption of a picture, where he is feeding the son, he is therefore referred to as being in the role of the "Kindermädchen" (nurserymaid) – a designation which has no male equivalent in German. See Fröhlich, *Missionsbilder*, 33-6.

the developments of the examined organisations and in particular of the Sudan-Pionier Hospital in Aswan, I argue that organisational learning appears not to have fundamentally transformed the organisational structures and roles in the long run. In particular, the pragmatic adaptations of the structures as well as the ad hoc establishment of organisational roles (induced by agency of the individuals involved in order to manage challenges encountered) did not usually sustainably affect the institution. However, it was not the foreign missionaries that were reversing the organisational developments in the first place. More crucial for normalisation of organisational structures and roles were increasing medical services provided by the government that also raised the expectations of the patients. Furthermore, governmental regulations in the health sector also required increasing professionalization and standardisation. These requirements by the Egyptian society and government, established more rigid structures and more clearly defined competencies, and made the hospital more "European" than it was before.

Thus, despite the fact that organisational learning had the potential to result in strikingly pragmatic adaptations of institutional structures, and to create organisational roles (and even roles entailing activities and competences that ran counter to prevalent social norms), it was not necessarily sustainable. I assume that the transformations, generated by organisational learning, have to become a topic on the discursive level since only then could the normative level could be impacted upon and the newly evolved structures, procedures and roles received recognition. If, on the discursive level, the results of organisational learning are acknowledged as suitable, then they can be institutionalised and become models for further organisation.[1015] In such cases sustainable organisational learning receives social relevance.

Mission and Society

Scholars working on missionary history in the Middle East agree, and some even emphasise, that missionary activities impacted the local societies. Furthermore, an increasing number of studies highlight that these cultural encounters also affected the Western societies.[1016] Considering that, this study focuses primarily on microhistory, the impact of missionary activities on the Egyptian society or on larger segments of the society was more difficult to detect. Moreo-

[1015] On the process of institutionalisation, understood as a habitualisation and typecast of modes of action, see Luckmann and Berger, *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit*, 56-83.
[1016] See for instance Kieser, "Mission as Factor of Change in Turkey (Nineteenth to first Half of Twentieth Century)," 393-410; Murre-van den Berg, "Nineteenth-century Protestant Missions and Middle Eastern Women," 103-122; Russell, *Creating the new Egyptian Woman*, 107-16; Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt,* 1-17 and 215-231; Sharkey, "American Presbyterians, Freedmen's Missions, and the Nile Valley," 439–56; and Sedra, *From Mission to Modernity,* 172-8.

ver, transformations induced by the cultural encounters and affecting western societies -or at least those circles that were sympathetic with the missionary enterprise- did not fall within the scope of this study. A different corpus of sources would have been required to examine those effects of cultural entanglement and this hence remains a matter of further examination. Yet, the relations between mission and social environment in Egypt are a recurring and essential topic in this study. While the examined missionary societies might not have had a direct impact on broad segments of the Egyptian society, the cultural encounters in the context of missionary activities still contributed to the reinforcement or transformation of certain societal trends.

Christian mission in the first half of the twentieth century took place within the framework of British imperialism. As this study has shown, the relationship between mission and colonialism is complex and missionaries cannot be identified with the colonial powers. However, and in general, both British German missionaries were not very critical towards the colonial rule in Egypt. Mostly, they did not analyse social and economic problems in political categories (rather in moral and religious ones) but considered, rather, the colonial framework as a safeguard for their work. However, as the anti-missionary agitations and the developments after the Suez Crisis show, colonialism -or more precisely, the association with it- also caused grave disadvantages for the mission.

I have not extensively discussed the impact of colonialism on the missionaries' perception of the local population in this study.[1017] Nevertheless, I would like to share an impression that arose from the reading and analysis of a vast number of missionary reports: albeit one that would need closer scrutiny. British missionaries, particularly those working for the *Egypt General Mission*, often portrayed the Egyptians they encountered with a rather judgmental undertone and a disdainful attitude: e. g. the appearance or skills of certain school children were described deprecatingly.[1018] In contrast to the accounts of the German missionaries, the described persons only seldom got the chance to speak for themselves in direct speech and in the accounts appear quite passive. In contrast, German missionaries generally spoke much more respectfully of the people they aimed to serve. They provided explanations for their problems, thereby showing sympathy (unless in moral issues). Moreover, people in the Su-

[1017] Closer examination of the perception of Jews and Arabs by German Protestant missionaries, see Boulos, *Wahrnehmung von Juden und Arabern durch die Karmelmission in Palästina 1908-1939.*

[1018] See for instance Webb, "For Our Junior Partners," 27; "Egypt's Children"; Reeves Palmer, "Aims and Actualities," 167 (on a teacher working for the mission); and Mercer, *Adventures with the Bible in Egypt,* 5 (on Muslims in general).

dan-Pionier Mission accounts were often mentioned by name and they appear as individuals with opinions and concerns.

Reflections on the colonial context can provide a second explanation to the previous question of why Egyptians appear to be more receptive in cultural encounters than missionaries who seem to have been less aware of the cultural impacts. The economic framework was shaped by colonialism and played a crucial role when it came to the choice of schools. Parents generally believed that education in missionary schools, enjoying a good reputation and known for their emphasis on foreign language training, enhanced their children's possibilities to find a job and to succeed financially. However, the missionaries often also mention that parents chose their schools not only for their scholarly quality, but additionally because of the character education provided. Why were concepts, modes of conduct and values that were associated with the cultural context of the colonisers still appreciated in many circles of the Egyptian society? My explanation for this phenomenon considers the economic, political and military power of Western countries as essential factors. The Egyptian perception and experience of Western superiority in these areas promoted the idea that certain cultural concepts deriving from the European context were equally superior. The discourses promoting this idea were particularly efficacious in those realms where many Egyptians considered their society to be in crisis. This belief was shared by many Egyptians and foreigners for realms such as medicine, science, education, but also family structure (that was widely considered to be in a crisis). In these fields, Egyptians were assigned to the learning positions, while Europeans were considered as teachers.[1019]

The topical approach has provided insights into how cultural entanglements could impact upon discursive formations and consequently upon the modalities of speaking and thinking within a society. The interrelated topics of cleanliness, hygiene and superstition have been studied with a discourse analytic approach, whereby concepts of cleanliness have formed the points of departure from which to explore associated statements, values and practices. My analysis reveals that cleanliness is not only related to health and hygiene, but also associated with certain values, such as discipline and orderliness. Additionally, the statements forming concepts of cleanliness are also crucially related to the context of gender and family ideals.

It is important to note that the discourses on cleanliness, hygiene and health, which formed the corresponding concepts and practices of missionaries, were nevertheless not a missionary invention. Neither were Christian missionaries the first to introduce these concepts in Egypt.

[1019] On the discussions in the Egyptian society on the marriage and the family crisis during the constitutional era, see Kholoussy, *For Better, For Worse,* 1-21.

They rather played a role in popularising cleanliness and health concepts, as well as associated values, gender ideals and hygienic practices. Thereby they used various institutions and means and focused on segments of Egyptian society, which previously were not confronted with these concepts.

The following question is essential for the examination of cultural entanglements: how can discursive formations and associated practices, which have evolved in a certain social and historic context, take root in another context?[1020] The analysis, of how concepts of cleanliness and hygienic practices were propagated and appropriated, shows that certain central statements had a *hinge* function. The series of statements expressing new concepts of hygiene in a formation with specific values, ideas and modes of behaviour have to be absorbed into existing discursive patterns. *Hinge statements* represent concepts that are crucial in the new discursive formation as well as in the existing discursive framework. But since a specific hinge statement is interrelated with different statements and values in each context, they usually appear with a different meaning in the respective society. Nevertheless, such hinge statements can provide an argumentative link between the new discursive formation and the already existing structures. In the context of cleanliness for instance, the ritual purity of *Ṭahāra* and associated practices of *Wuḍūʾ* were related with hygienic cleansing practices, hence showing that a disciplined practice of hygiene was also an Islamic duty. In the gender context, the normative ideal of the wise mother was a hinge concept. To be a good mother of healthy children was considered as desirable within each context and hence had the function of promoting specific modes of conduct and values among women.

Since the hinge statements were already known and accepted, the associated concepts and values that were derived from the new discursive formation did not appear as alien. The newly propagated concepts and practices seemed rather to represent aspects of the already known concepts that were not yet explored but could be valuable in the view of new social challenges. Institutions play a noteworthy role in the process of discourse production, since they usually systematically produced certain statements and related them to specific practices. Moreover, it has to be considered that if a discursive formation took root within new discursive structures, it was usually transformed. The original series of statements could appear in relation to statements, norms and practices which derived from the new discursive context. Such entanglements produced new modalities of speaking and thinking in a society.

[1020] Such discursive formations for instance produced certain concepts of cleanliness and structured their relation to specific statements, norms and modes of actions.

Examining cultural entanglements with topical and institutional approaches can provide valuable insights, as this study aims to show. However, it can also create paradoxical results. Religion for instance was an essential topic in missionary work and it was a sensitive matter in the Egyptian context. The anti-missionary agitations and the subsequently emerging genre of anti-missionary tracts, crucially affected the perception and evaluation of Christian mission in Middle Eastern societies. However, discourses on Islam and Muslims, prevalent in Western media and political rhetoric up to the present day, also reproduce many statements that can be found in the accounts of missionaries. Therefore, the missionaries' anti-Islamic discourses sustainably impacted upon the thinking and speaking on Islam and Muslims in Europe and America, in particular in evangelical circles.[1021]

These discourses that created a mutual demonization however stand in sharp contrast to the interreligious experiences of those individuals, who were involved or directly affected by the missionary activities. Both Muslim and Christian interviewees emphasise the mutual respect and the harmonic relations between the different religious groups in missionary institutions. Despite the religious mission of these organisations, the missionaries were also experienced as respectful, friendly and without a provocative proselytising attitude. Such positive interreligious experiences can also be found in some (in particular German) missionary accounts, where the missionaries wrote with high esteem about Muslim co-workers. Sometimes they even reported on amicable encounters with, and relations to, representatives of the Muslim community.[1022]

This paradoxical situation, created by the encounter of hostile discourses and positive individual experiences, was also noticeable in the research process. While Christian mission as a topic appeared largely as taboo in Egypt, as one that only should be discussed with caution, most interviewees were very open to share their memories. Some of them also expressed certain amazements that mission and religion had become such a problematic topic. Therefore, some nostalgia can be hinted in the words of Aḥmad Rafīq, when I asked him, if his Muslim parents minded that he had to take Scripture class:

> Aḥmad Rafīq: No. Nobody minded at that time (laughing). Nowadays I know, there is a lot of problems between any of them, between Muslims, and Christians, and Jews. At that time, nobody thought of this at all.[1023]

[1021] Sharkey, "Empire and Muslim Conversion," 56-7; and Kidd, *American Christians and Islam,* 37-74 and 120-64. But in contrast to present anti-Islamic discourses, the characterisation of Islam as inherently violent religion is much less frequent in missionary sources.

[1022] In the context of the American Mission these inter-religious encounters resulted in a changing attitude towards Islam and a reconsideration of the value of traditional evangelism. See Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt,* 220-5.

[1023] Aḥmad Rafīq, interview by author, tape recording, Cairo 20. 1. 2010 (transcript l. 169-171).

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